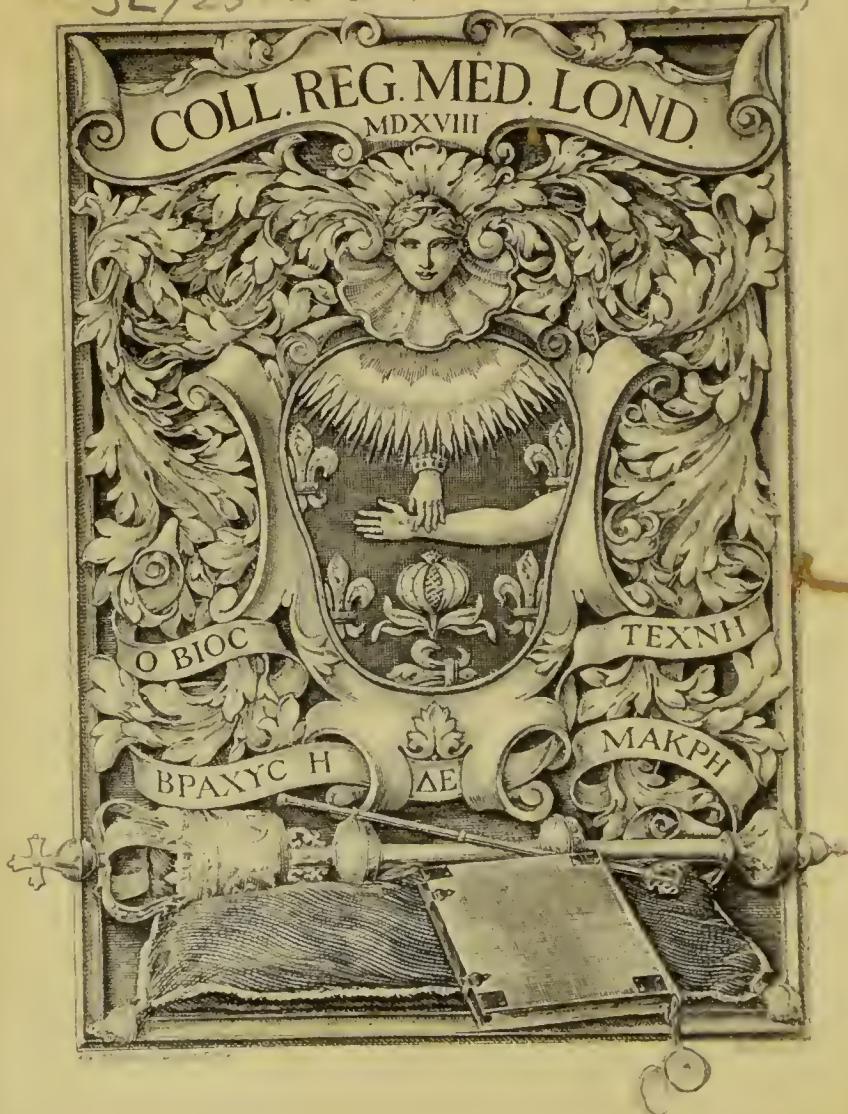


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QUEEN ELIZABETH.

It has been an inveterate fashion to place this Princess in the class of wise monarchs. Whether this has been founded on an impartial and judicious examination of her character, or on the report of certain great authorities, to whose sincerity as well as judgment a ready credit has been given, may be, however, fairly questioned. Henry the Fourth of France, who, it should be recollected, anxiously sought her friendship, professed a high respect for her talents, and took care to make it known to her ; and the acute but eccentric Sixtus the Fifth regretted that his vow of celibacy excluded him from the possibility of an union with her, the issue of which he said would have been naturally qualified to govern the world. Another great person, of equal fame with these, and I think of equal rank, answered to one who was inclined to depreciate the powers of her mind, and to ascribe the success and glory of her reign to the sagacity of her counsellors, by asking, “ whether he ever heard of a weak Prince who chose wise ministers ;” a remark, by the way, not very applicable to her, who had but the negative merit of retaining in office those who had been chosen by her father and brother. A few such testimonies and smart sayings from such sources would be at all times sufficient to fix the opinions of those who read history for amusement, that is to say of nearly the whole of mankind. It may seem bold to declare that the history of Elizabeth’s reign furnishes no substantial evidence that she possessed remarkable talents, either solid or brilliant. She had however violent passions, and the sudden bursts of

these will frequently be mistaken by the multitude for proofs of exalted talent. Hers were all of the unamiable order, but their baleful effects were generally neutralised by counteraction on each other. Thus it was her timidity that prevented her from emulating the horrible tyranny of her father, and her pride that saved her from the disgrace of open profligacy. We seek in vain through the whole of her life for instances of generosity, benevolence, or gratitude, those bright jewels of a crown which Princes to whom nature has denied them have generally been prudent enough to counterfeit.—But we must hasten to our brief compilation, and leave these few remarks to the censure which may await them. They will not be popular, but it will be difficult to contradict them.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the Eighth and Anne Bullen, was born at Greenwich on the seventh of September, 1533. The frantic despotism of her father surrounded her very cradle with terrors, and planted with thorns her path to womanhood. The imperfect divorce of Catherine of Arragon, and the vote of a servile Parliament, had invested her with a factitious and doubtful right to the inheritance of the crown, of which the speedily succeeding alleged infidelity and attainder of her mother, followed by another specific act of the same body, legally deprived her. Mary, her paternal sister, was living, with pretensions which, although they had been in a great measure similarly annulled, furnished ample ground for discord and competition. The birth of a Prince, afterwards Edward the Sixth, as it seemed to settle, though to their mutual prejudice, the succession to the Throne, gave them a chance of safety; but Henry and his obedient Parliament soon after that event replaced them in the order of inheritance, and he specially recognised their right in his will. These dispositions however, powerful as they may seem, were insufficient to remove the prejudices which had arisen out of the confusion that he had previously created, and the premature death of Edward produced a jealousy between the sisters, in which Elizabeth, though too young to

appear an active party, was old enough to become an object of persecution.

She had been placed after the decease of her father under the care and in the mansion of his widow, Catherine Par, who presently, with unbecoming haste, took the Lord Admiral Seymour, brother to the Protector Duke of Somerset, for her fourth husband. The extravagant ambition of this nobleman undoubtedly suggested to him the idea of gaining Elizabeth's hand, and the means through which he endeavoured to accomplish his purpose were such as might have been expected from his impetuous and unprincipled character. He sought by the baseness of personal seduction to gain that absolute control over her mind with which her fears of discovery, or her affection, or both, could scarcely have failed to invest him. Of his success in this detestable part of his plan we are of course ignorant, but it appears that Elizabeth regarded him at least with complacency. The singular circumstances of their intercourse were at length made known to Edward's ministers ; the young Princess was hastily removed ; and a careful inquiry was instituted, many curious documents relative to which are preserved in Haynes's fine collection of Cecil Papers.

The uncertainties and vicissitudes of her youth had not interrupted the regularity of her education. Her surprising facility in the acquisition of languages is commemorated in terms even of rapture in the Latin epistles of her tutor, Ascham. This faculty, and her regular profession of the reformed faith, increased the favour which the tender nature of her brother, the admirable Edward, had always extended to her, and they seem to have been much together after she left the Queen Dowager, and are said to have derived mutual improvement from the joint prosecution of their studies. Edward however was prevailed on, in the feebleness of his last hours, to dispose of the crown to the exclusion of both the Princesses ; and in the short contest, if it deserve that name, between Mary and Jane Grey, we are told that Eliza-

beth raised, we are not informed how, nor is it easy to conceive, a thousand horse for the aid of her sister's cause. She was received therefore with distinction and smiles at the new court ; but a secret jealousy lurked in the bosom of Mary. She saw in Elizabeth, a rival, not only in regal claim, but in love, for the Queen had certainly meditated to marry the unfortunate Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who on his part was enamoured, with what return we know not, of her sister. The first act of Mary's first parliament, by decreeing the validity of the marriage of her father and mother, and annulling the sentence of their divorce, virtually reduced Elizabeth again to the condition of a bastard ; and that she might have no room to doubt that such was the Queen's interpretation of it, she was presently after placed in the court ceremonial beneath the descendants of her father's sisters. This proof of Mary's aversion was followed by numerous slights and affronts, which at length becoming intolerable, Elizabeth obtained permission to retire into the country, where however she is said to have been closely watched by two trusty servants of the crown, whom she had been obliged to accept as principal officers of her household. But the tranquillity of her retreat was of short duration. She was accused, certainly with little probability, of having been privy to Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection ; was recalled to the Court when in a state of severe illness, strictly examined by the Council, and, after several days, permitted to return ; again seized on some new suspicions, and conducted to Hampton Court as a state prisoner, and from thence to close confinement in the Tower of London.

It is remarkable that at this seemingly hopeless period two bills brought into Parliament by her bitter enemy, Bishop Gardiner, the one expressly declaring her illegitimacy, and incapacity to inherit the crown, the other to enable the Queen to appoint her successor, should have been rejected by large majorities. Mary became alarmed at this unexpected opposition to her will in so important a quarter ; the

rigour of the Princess's imprisonment was presently abated, and she was soon after conducted to the palace of Richmond, where she was offered her liberty if she would accept the hand of the Duke of Savoy. It is probable that to this condition was annexed some proposal tending to an abandonment of her claim to the English crown, for she refused it with a magnanimous perseverance. She was now transferred to Woodstock, and again confined with some severity, and thus she remained till the marriage of her sister to Philip of Spain, when that Prince, among other endeavours to gain popularity with his new subjects, procured her release, at least from the rigours of her captivity, but she was yet watched with the closest attention. The resentment and jealousy of the Queen however gradually abated, and the humility of Elizabeth's concessions kept pace with the increase of her sister's complaisance. When she was at length admitted to personal intercourse and intimacy, she attended all the high ceremonies of the Romish church with seeming devotion, and even partook of the sacrament of the altar. The mutual indifference, or rather aversion, of the King and Queen towards each other, which soon after occurred, operated in her favour. Philip, lately her apparent friend, from some political views regarding his continental interests now reiterated with vehemence the suit of the Duke of Savoy, and Mary, whose favourite measure it had lately been, as earnestly supported Elizabeth in the rejection of it. The Princess presently returned this service by refusing the hand of the heir-apparent to the crown of Sweden, on the alleged ground of the indignity which the King, his father, had offered to Mary by directing his ambassador to propose it in the first instance to herself. The carriage of the sisters towards each other was assuming the appearance of affection, when the Queen died, on the seventeenth of November, 1558.

Elizabeth mounted the Throne amid an extravagance of approbation, flowing from the revived hopes of a people who had been long strangers to the regular protection of laws, and

slaves to so many varieties of despotism, civil and religious. They were not disappointed. The first act of her prerogative laid the ground for all her succeeding credit, and fixed the character of her long reign. It was the appointment of William Cecil to the office of Secretary of State, and in effect to that of Prime Minister. That great and good man had been, from the purest motives, her secret correspondent and adviser during the long season of oppression and difficulty through which she had laboured. The strict seclusion in which she had lived, even from her infancy, had rendered her a stranger to all other statesmen, and, without meaning to deny that a sense of obligation to him had its due share in influencing her choice, it may be said that she fell as it were naturally into his hands. He formed her ministry, and presided in it with unparalleled honesty and disinterestedness, and with the rarest combination of wisdom, fortitude, and good temper, that history can produce in the conduct of a public man. The constant activity of these admirable qualities for years averted from his mistress and from the realm the dangers with which her foibles threatened both. From the hour of his appointment those exertions became necessary, for it was almost in the same hour that she chose for her favourite that monster of ambition and profligacy, Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. It would perhaps be too much to ascribe wholly to that unworthy partiality the resolution which she professed already to have taken against matrimony, for it was to her first Parliament, as soon as it had assembled, that she expressed it. Her brother-in-law Philip of Spain, Eric, King of Sweden, and the Archduke Charles of Austria, made their addresses, and were refused accordingly. A few too of the highest of her subjects entertained distant hopes of being chosen by her, and others of them have been mentioned to whom perhaps the thought never occurred. That Dudley however aspired to her hand, and with a boldness unknown to the rest, is certain; and that, to ensure at least the possibility of obtain-

ing it, he connived at the murder of his wife, is scarcely doubtful.

Elizabeth's jealousy of the Queen of Scots commenced with the accession of the one to the English throne, and of the other, as Queen consort to that of France, events nearly simultaneous. The importance that Scotland had derived from the French marriage, which had made it in effect a colony of France, was justly dreaded, and no time was lost in demonstrating the vigilance which it seemed to demand. A fleet sailed to the Frith of Forth, and a powerful army was marched to the borders, and the Regent, Mary of Guise, already perplexed by the insurrectionary spirit of the infant kirk, submitted by the treaty of Edinburgh to terms highly advantageous to the interest of England. In the political effects of the Reformation in Scotland, and indeed elsewhere, Elizabeth found a useful lesson for her own conduct at home. Unencumbered by conscientious scruples and niceties of faith, she determined to reject, in pursuing the separation from the Church of Rome, every novelty in which the most remote tendency might be traced towards the abridgment of temporal dominion. The dismissal of those splendid ceremonies, and ardent forms of worship, which biassed the judgment by captivating the imagination, was wrested from her with difficulty by her ministers and prelates. She would indeed willingly have retained the whole of the Catholic system, except its dependence on the see of Rome, but it was impracticable. Recent events had prejudiced against it a vast majority of the nation, and the final establishment of the Anglican Church was more indebted to the headstrong and cruel violence of Mary than to the wisdom, the beneficence, or the piety of her sister. To Elizabeth, however, be her motives what they might, it owes its escape from the baseness of Calvinism.

The death of Francis the Second of France, in the winter of 1560, before he could be said to have reached manhood, was the signal for that well-known breach between Elizabeth

and his lovely relict, which terminated in the tragical death of the one, and the endless disgrace of the other. Mary's influence in France had expired with her husband, and she returned to Scotland with regret, though to assume an independent crown. Before her departure from Paris she had been pressed by the English ambassador to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, which was rendered peculiarly odious to her by a stipulation for her abandonment of the royal title and arms of England, her habit of quartering which had been always sternly and most reasonably resisted by Elizabeth. She evaded the demand by various pretences, and Elizabeth in return refused her request of a safe-conduct for her voyage, which she, on her part, resented by a message full of anger and disdain. From this period a bitter enmity, at first rather the result of ordinary passion than of political discord, commenced between them, and was gradually aggravated by mutual injuries and affronts till it produced the purest reciprocal hatred. That Mary, however, cherished, or rather was persuaded to entertain, a hope that she might effectually dispute Elizabeth's right to a throne to which herself was presumptive heir, is certain. The incessant instances of her father-in-law, Henry the Second, of the haughty family of Lorraine, and at length of Spain, had raised an inclination in her mind to which the measure of her own ambition would have been perhaps incompetent. Philip, who had gladly coalesced with Elizabeth to counterbalance the weight of France, now, on its removal from the scale, espoused the party of Mary. He was justly esteemed the temporal head of the Catholics throughout Europe, and with little difficulty excited in those of England an aversion to their queen, and a proportionate affection to her rival. Thus Elizabeth became compelled to use those measures of severity against the Catholics which distinguished her reign, while she felt secretly inclined towards them; and to countenance, or rather to endure the Calvinists, or Puritans, as they were here called, whom she detested. To those of Scotland, now

in open rebellion, she secretly extended every favour that her own interests, or her anger against Mary, could suggest. The influence of these circumstances, and of the policy founded on them, may be discerned in almost all the important features of more than thirty years of her reign.

The two Queens however soon found it necessary to dissemble. They assumed a dignified decency of conduct towards each other, and entered into negotiations. Mary offered to make the clearest acknowledgment of Elizabeth's present title to the throne, on condition of receiving a recognition of her own right to the succession, which was refused, and the mutual disappointment, though it increased the obstinacy of each, was borne by each with a well-affected patience. Elizabeth's denial arose not more from her enmity to the Queen of Scots than from her general aversion to all, however distant, who might in possibility inherit the throne. She seemed desirous even to extinguish the royal race; and of this almost insane foible the long and horrible persecution, which she commenced about this time, of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine Grey, for their marriage, affords one remarkable instance.

In consonance with the new policy which Elizabeth had unwillingly adopted, she took up with vigour the cause of the Protestants, who were in arms in France, and, after some ineffectual negotiation in their favour with Charles the Ninth, or rather with his mother, Catherine de Medicis, sent a strong force, and from time to time large supplies of money, into Normandy to aid their General, the Prince of Condé, from whom she received in return the possession of Havre de Grace, which she resolved to keep as an equivalent for Calais. This, however, and all other objects of the plan, were within a few months defeated by the sudden submission of the Protestant leaders to the crown. The large disbursements required by these purposes obliged her, early in 1563, to summon her second Parliament, which, like its predecessor, commenced its proceedings by beseeching her to marry, and was answered

ambiguously. The Queen of Scots, in the meantime, encouraged the proposals which she was continually receiving through her uncles, the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, for a second marriage, an event which Elizabeth contemplated with terror, not only for the strong probability of its increasing the line of inheritors of the English crown, but for the power which Mary could not but at once acquire by a matrimonial alliance with one of the great royal Houses of Europe. To endeavour to prevent the one was hopeless, but she sought to avoid the danger of the other by at length proposing to acknowledge implicitly Mary's right to succeed to the throne of England, on the condition that she should take a husband from among the English nobility. The Queen of Scots received the motion with affected complacency, and, after long hesitation, Elizabeth availed herself of the opportunity of dissembling her own passion for him by naming Leicester, who she knew would be in the end rejected, while Mary, with equal artifice, concealed the indignation with which so unworthy an offer justly inspired her.

Elizabeth's main purposes were however answered for the time. By this negotiation, and others equally extravagant, she prevented Mary for nearly two years from hearkening to any becoming proposals of marriage, and postponed any definitive answer on the grand question of the succession. Mary's patience was at length subdued. She despatched a letter to Elizabeth in terms so wrathful that her ministers, dreading lest their private quarrel might produce a breach between the two countries, prevailed on her to conciliate, and for that purpose Sir James Melvil was sent to the English court. Those who would contemplate the utmost extravagance of female vanity, envy, and folly, may find it in that minister's memoirs, in his recitals of Elizabeth's conversations with him. She now recommended Darnley for Mary's hand, and sent him to her court, and privately entreated her to restore the honours and estates of his father, the Earl of Lennox, who laboured under an attainder. Mary was at

once captivated by his fine person, and made preparations for the marriage, when Elizabeth despatched an order for Darnley's instant return, imprisoned his mother and brother in the Tower, and seized his father's English estates ; and even in this miserable faithlessness and caprice some historians have affected to discern a profound policy. Mary, impelled by various passions, now hastened her nuptials with the catholic Darnley amidst the outcries of the reformers, whose leaders Elizabeth, after having seized the opportunity to incite to an unsuccessful rebellion, loaded with reproaches for their treason, and spurned from her presence, when they fled to her court from the vengeance of their mistress. The strange and horrible circumstances which followed this marriage in rapid succession are so well known that to do more than name them here would seem scornful of historical recollection. Mary's partiality to Rizzio, and his assassination ; the murder of Darnley ; her detestable union with Bothwell ; the league against her of her chief nobility, and their subsequent capture of her person ; her imprisonment, escape, and fatal flight into England ; all occurred within little more than two years. In the midst of these distractions, to Elizabeth's infinite chagrin, Mary brought forth her only child, afterwards our James the First.

The conduct adopted by Elizabeth towards Scotland and its miserable monarch during this momentous crisis, was wholly unexpected. She who had been the bitterest foe to Mary when her youth, beauty, innocence, and power, made her the favourite of Europe, now, when worn with care, stripped of dominion, and more than suspected of horrible crimes, suddenly adopted her cause, offered her every aid, and threatened her enemies with summary vengeance. Those who in seeking for refined political causes so frequently overlook obvious motives, have ascribed this anomaly to an insidious design to tempt Mary to the step which she afterwards unhappily took ; while others who judged under the honest dictates of natural feeling, aiming as much beneath

the mark, have placed it to the account of pity and generosity, virtues equally strangers to Elizabeth's breast. The truth is, that her dread of an example of rebellion in a land divided only by an imaginary line from her own exceeded her hatred to Mary, and that the circumstances of the time prevented her from maintaining a posture of neutrality between that Princess and her insurgent subjects. Mary, however, confided in the sincerity of her professions; unexpectedly fled to her for protection; and found herself a prisoner; and in the meantime her infant son was declared King of Scotland. It became necessary for Elizabeth to decide as suddenly on the part that she was now to act, and her determination involved questions of high policy; her ministers therefore were obliged to share with her in the iniquities which followed. She commenced them by assuming a jurisdiction wholly illegitimate. Mary was induced, partly by the necessity of her critical situation, and partly by a promise that the leaders of the party which had deposed her should be called on for a justification of that act, to submit to the judgment of Elizabeth not only the trial of such their conduct, but also the awful question of her own respecting the murder of Darnley. Commissioners were forthwith appointed for the cognisance of these great causes, and the rebel Lords were cited to London; not, as it presently appeared, to apologise for their delinquencies, but to assume the characters of prosecutors or witnesses against their captive Sovereign. By a series of the most profound artifices the Regent Murray was induced to give the fullest proof of Mary's guilt by the production of her letters to Bothwell, and she was instantly placed in that close confinement from which a violent death released her at the end of nineteen years.

If Elizabeth sought security or tranquillity in the prosecution of these unwarrantable measures, she was indeed sorely disappointed. Even while they were in progress the Duke of Norfolk formed a design to marry the Queen of Scots; imparted it in confidence to several of the nobility of both

nations, and was betrayed by Leicester ; was excused for the time, and three years after, having reiterated his scheme, with aggravated circumstances, was put to death. In the meantime a hasty and ill-concerted insurrection, professing for its object the restoration of the ancient faith, and headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, broke forth in the North, the suppression of which was speedily followed by another yet more imprudent. Mary, from the first hour of her unjust restraint, became the head of the English Catholics by their tacit and unpremeditated consent, while she, in like manner, beheld in them her only efficient friends. Under the influence of a temper naturally sanguine, she seems to have been ever ready to suggest, or to adopt, any plan, however visionary, by which she might possibly regain her liberty, and replace herself on a throne which she had disgraced, and environed with difficulty and danger. Elizabeth, on her part, equally dreading to restore, on any terms, an enemy whom she had offended beyond all hope of reconciliation, or to make common cause with rebellious subjects, amused each party with professions never to be verified, and with treaties instituted but to be broken up without effect. Amidst all these causes for just alarm, Pius the Fifth in 1571 excommunicated her in due form, and by the same Bull declared her title to the crown wholly void, and absolved her subjects of their oath of allegiance.

The consolation which she derived from the reformers was very inadequate to this accumulation of evils. She flattered them on all occasions with expressions of more than maternal tenderness, and received in return the most abject professions of devotion, or rather worship ; but they who had overthrown the ancient Church were of course not long before they turned their attention to the correction of the State. A freedom of speech hitherto unknown began to distinguish the House of Commons ; privileges were sometimes talked of there ; and her prerogatives were not unfrequently questioned. As the heat of her temper ebbed and flowed, she

sometimes blustered, and sometimes conceded, and occasionally, which was the worst of all, retracted her specific threats in the very hour in which she had uttered them. The die however was cast, and she had assumed the character of patroness of the Protestant persuasion throughout Europe. To maintain that reputation, she again succoured about this period the Huguenots, as they were called, now in formidable array against Charles the Ninth, but was induced to withdraw her aid by insidious proposals from that Prince, and to endure with a sullen patience even that consummation of wickedness, the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At this very period she undertook the friendly office of sponsor to his infant daughter, and listened with an affected complacency to another, but still fruitless offer of the hand of the Duke of Alençon, whom, as well as his elder brother, the Duke of Anjou, soon after Henry the Third, she had formerly rejected. The public anxiety regarding the succession to the crown, repeatedly expressed by her Parliaments, prevented the unpopularity which her seeming apathy towards the Protestant cause might have provoked, while her utter aversion to their remonstrances on the subject of marriage tempted her as frequently to amuse them by engaging in negotiations to that effect, always insincere.

The death of Charles, and the formation, by the talents and boldness of the family of Guise, of the League, altered most of these relations. Philip, from whose interest she had hoped to detach France, now openly declared himself protector of that celebrated combination, and avowed, with more frankness than was usually found in his policy, his determination to extirpate the reformed religion. Elizabeth's safety, as well as her reputation, demanded an undisguised resistance on her part, and the sudden revolt of that Monarch's oppressed subjects in the Low Countries, together with the horrible vengeance inflicted on them by the Duke of Alva, rendered her interference not less popular than politic. The States of Holland and Zealand offered to swear allegiance to her, and

were refused. She supplied them liberally however from time to time with arms and money, and her ministers were already occupied in preparations for that warfare with Spain, the triumphant event of which is yet so grateful to English minds. Meanwhile the Catholics at home were watched and pursued with renewed severity ; in proof of which the Queen herself, in one of her progresses, imprisoned, by her own special authority, a gentleman who was in the very act of sumptuously entertaining her at his mansion, because some of her attendants had found an image of the Virgin concealed in one of his outhouses. Of such absurd extravagance and injustice could she be capable, when left to the unadvised exercise of her own will !

For several years past Elizabeth had governed Scotland by her influence over the Regent Morton, who was her creature and pensioner ; but James was now emerging from childhood, and a small party, secretly under the direction of the Duke of Guise, persuaded him to assume the administration of the kingdom. Morton, after some struggle, in which she vainly endeavoured to support him, was arrested, tried, and executed ; a scheme was formed to associate Mary with her son in the sovereign authority ; and the interest of the court of France was fruitlessly exerted to the utmost to that effect. It is somewhat singular that Elizabeth should have chosen at this period to encourage the renewed addresses of Alençon, now Duke of Anjou. The negotiations on this remarkable occasion were instituted and conducted solely by herself ; and her Council, hesitating to answer her appeal to its opinion by an unqualified approbation of the match, was almost reprimanded by her. The nation was struck with astonishment that a woman who from her early youth had always declared even an abhorrence of marriage should, at the age of forty-eight, suddenly determine to give her hand to a Prince more than twenty years younger than herself, and little recommended either by talents, person, or manners. Every part of her conduct relating to this strange affair was marked by the

most extravagant caprice ; Sir Philip Sidney composed with great freedom a long and laboured argument, or rather invective, against the match, and it was received without disapprobation ; while a Mr. Stubbs, a barrister, and a man of considerable merit and unquestionable loyalty, followed the same course, and was punished by the loss of his right hand, and a long imprisonment. Anjou at length arrived privately, and she received him with all the airs of an impassioned damsel of romance. He left England for a short interval, and, on his return, after some secret interviews, she presented him to her court, in the full presence of which, among other amorous fooleries, she took a ring from her finger, and placed it on his, in token, as it seemed, of a confirmation of their contract, and six weeks after they coolly parted to meet no more. These mysterious absurdities, for which no one has hitherto satisfactorily accounted, might have arisen out of a wildness of resentment and jealousy suddenly excited by her recent discovery of Leicester's private marriage to the Countess of Essex. As she had been weak enough to betray publicly the influence of those passions over her by imprisoning him for that fact, it cannot be unreasonable to suppose that she was capable of flattering herself that she might mortify him, in her turn, by an affectation of fondness for another lover.

Elizabeth was now surrounded by enemies. The Puritans menaced her monarchical power, and the Catholics her life, and their hatred to each other was exceeded only by their joint hatred of her. In the various plots of the latter, which at this time followed each other in rapid succession, the captive Mary was always directly or indirectly a party. It was deemed necessary to remove her from the milder custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose several mansions she had been for many years confined, and to place her in the hands of sterner keepers. A bond of association for the defence of Elizabeth was proposed by the court, and eagerly signed by multitudes of nobles and gentry. This instrument was presently after adopted by a new Parliament, and put into the

form of an act, with the addition of a clause, clearly foreboding the ultimate fate of Mary, by which the Queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for the trial of any one who, pretending a right to the crown, might contrive any invasion, insurrection, or assassination, against her, and leaving the punishment of such offender to her discretion. The same Parliament, a majority of which was puritanical, among other awkward strides towards independence, made some resolutions trenching on Elizabeth's ecclesiastical supremacy; attacked the authority of the prelacy; and were reprimanded by her in a speech in which she plainly told them that she considered the Puritans not less dangerous than the Catholics. Those of the Low Countries, a peaceful because a commercial people, worn with warfare and oppression, once more besought her to become their Sovereign, and were again refused. It became however a question whether she should wage offensive war against Spain on their behalf, and Elizabeth, usually indifferent where her passions were not excited, left the decision to her ministers. After long debates, they determined it affirmatively. Drake, whose courage and nautical skill had been abundantly proved in former enterprises, was despatched against the Spanish colonies in America, and was eminently successful, and a strong military force was landed in Holland; but here the Queen's inveterate partiality towards Leicester interfered; she named him to the command of the expedition; it failed, through his ambition and inexperience; she quarrelled with him, and forgave him; and he returned, despised by the States, and hated at home by all but his infatuated mistress.

The termination of Mary's sufferings approached. The rage of the persecuted Catholics of England, incessantly fomented by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the heads of the League, concentrated itself in a new plot, involving at once the assassination of the Queen, an insurrection, and a foreign invasion. Mary, whom it was proposed to place on the English throne, had been long in close correspondence

with the conspirators, and was acquainted, even to minuteness, with all the details of this awful enterprise, which were at length betrayed by one of the parties, and sifted by Walsingham, a minister who seems to have been born but for such employment, and whose vigilance had previously detected the general design. Fourteen of the leaders were seized and executed, but to dispose of Mary required deliberation ; in the course of which let it be remembered that Leicester, a known poisoner, proposed that she should be so removed, and, with that hypocrisy for which he was little less infamous, sent a clergyman to persuade Walsingham by scriptural argument that in such a case the expedient would be lawful. It was however determined that she should be tried on the act which had been lately passed with the peculiar view, it may be said, of so applying it. Of the catastrophe of the tragedy it is needless to speak. In reflecting on the first treacherous and inhospitable detention of this Princess ; on the various horrors of her tedious imprisonment ; and the final sacrifice of her life ; all equally barbarous and unjust ; we almost forget the crimes and the follies of her earlier time, and are inclined to consider her concluding designs on the throne and the life of her great enemy but as measures of retaliation which may readily find an apology in the infirmity of human passions, however lofty. For the conduct of Elizabeth, too, may a similar plea be urged in extenuation ; but what were the passions which actuated her ? vanity, envy, and jealousy, succeeded by grovelling fear, and insatiable malice. The incomparable resignation and heroism which marked the death of the one almost completed the redemption of her fame ; the vile dissimulation of the other which followed has plunged her memory into irretrievable infamy. She declared, with oaths and tears, that she had forbidden the delivery of the warrant signed by her for the execution ; and to support the deception, doomed to disgrace and poverty her faithful servant, the Secretary Davison, in whose hands she had placed it, directing him to forward it, while she lamented to him

that Mary's keepers had not prevented the necessity for it by assassinating their prisoner.

James's resentment of the murder of his mother did not exceed the forms of decency, and presently wholly subsided ; while the attention of England was suddenly turned from it to the mighty attack meditated by Spain, which had long been foreseen by Elizabeth's ministers, and was now generally known to the public. It had been repeatedly disappointed by the successful enterprises of Drake, and other nautical adventurers, when at length Europe resounded with the news of the equipment of the Armada which the Spaniards called "invincible," the total discomfiture of which it is scarcely necessary even to mention. Leicester, whom the Queen had appointed to the chief command of the land forces raised to oppose the expected invasion, and for whom she had ordered a commission for the unheard-of office of her "Lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland," survived that great event but for a few weeks, and she coldly seized and sold his property to reimburse his debts to her—a sufficient proof that the extravagance of her partiality had subsisted merely on motives which could not survive him, not to mention the speedy accession of another, and a more youthful favourite. She seems to have hesitated for a while whom to select from three candidates, each of them remarkably handsome, highly accomplished, and about thirty years younger than herself. The Earl of Essex became the unfortunate object of her choice, and succeeded his father-in-law, Leicester, not only in the full measure of her affection, but as leader of the Puritan faction.

Had Elizabeth abstained from this final folly, the concluding years of her public and private life might have passed in uninterrupted tranquillity. The pride and the power of Spain had received a wound not readily to be healed ; France was worn by intestine commotions, and its monarch was her firm friend, as well from prejudice as from policy ; and in Scotland, which was yet in some measure distracted by the

violent factions that had alternately ruled during a long regal minority, James, not less pacific in his nature than helpless from circumstances, obeyed her mandates with almost the submission of a tributary prince. The Catholics, stunned by the blows which had fallen on the Queen of Scots, and on their great patron, Philip, required years to re-inspire them even with hope; and the Puritans had not yet dreamed of connecting rebellion with their profession of faith; the power of the Crown was almost absolute, and the great mass of the people contented. The history of the last ten years of this Queen would have been nearly a blank, but for the surprising rise and fall of Essex.

She gave him the Garter, and appointed him Master of the Horse, before he had fully attained the age of twenty-one. From the hour of his first appearance at her court she used towards him a singularity of carriage which at first rather excited secret ridicule than envy, and which seems, naturally enough, to have disgusted himself, for he fled privately from her, and became a volunteer in a foreign expedition. She summoned him home, first by an order from her Privy Council, then by an angry letter from herself, and when he unwillingly returned redoubled her fondness. He married, and she became outrageous, but was presently reconciled. She appointed him to military commands, for which he had no requisite but bravery, and forced him into the character of a statesman, for which the natural impetuosity of his generous temper utterly disqualified him. Under the influence of that foible he frequently treated her with rudeness and contempt, and she bore it patiently. In an argument however on the affairs of Ireland, the freedom of his contradictions provoked her to strike him; he fled furiously from the court; and she drew him with difficulty from the privacy in which he had buried himself to invest him with the government of that very country. His measures there were ill-judged, and worse executed. He received a letter from Elizabeth full of bitter reproaches; anticipated at length her

vengeance ; and his horror of the consequent triumph of his enemies at home irritated his sensitive mind to the brink of frenzy. In this wretched disposition, he took a sudden resolution to return secretly, and throw himself at her feet. She received him with kindness, but referred the consideration of his case to her Privy Council. He was deprived of his seat in that assembly, and of his offices, and placed for a short time in a mild imprisonment. He retired into the country, and, could he have waited patiently, would probably have been restored to all his former favour ; but his mind had been incurably wounded, and he had lost all reasonable power of guiding his own conduct. He returned to London ; shut himself up in his own house with a few imprudent followers ; detained as hostages the Lord Keeper, and Chief Justice, who had been sent to hear his complaints ; and at length sallied forth, with his little force, in hostile array against he knew not whom. He was presently overpowered, and soon after brought to trial for high treason by his Peers, who ought to have acquitted him on the score of insanity ; but they found him guilty, and Elizabeth, under an impression of terror, which for the time had overpowered, but not impaired, her affection for him, consigned him to the scaffold. She survived him for two years, gradually sinking, without disease, under a regular abatement of strength and spirits, the commencement of which is proved to have been observed almost immediately after his death. To those who may be inclined to take the pains to examine carefully the numerous notices which remain, on indubitable authority, of her decay, and the expressions which fell from her during its progress, it will be evident that her life fell a sacrifice to the premature loss of that of her favourite. She died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603.

Some remark may probably be expected here on the singularities which distinguish the portrait prefixed to this outline of Elizabeth's life ; but little can be said in explanation of them. In an age which delighted in the pictorial riddles of

inexhaustible allegory, it is perhaps not very strange that she should have adopted this mode of displaying such devices ; still less that one of the vainest women in the world should have invented, or accepted, such as might attribute to herself the beneficence and splendour of the sun, the wisdom of the serpent, and the vigilance of the most acute and watchful organs of the human frame. Besides, her wardrobe at the time of her death contained more than two thousand dresses, of the fashions of all countries, of all times, and of all contrivances that busy fancy could suggest, and in the gratification of this childish whim variety imparted the main charm. The portrait itself, however, were it a mere head, would be of great curiosity, inasmuch as it represents her much younger than any other extant, and with at least as much beauty as she could at any time have possessed.





JOHN,
FIRST MARQUESS OF HAMILTON

OB. 1744.

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

JAMES HAMILTON, Earl of Arran, and Duke of Chatelherault, had by his lady, Margaret, eldest daughter of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, four sons. James, the eldest, who, after his father's advancement to his French Dukedom, bore the title of Earl of Arran, was a young nobleman of the proudest hopes. He had been bred in France, and the influence of Mary, his Queen and near relation, who was the consort of the Dauphin, afterwards Francis the Second, had placed him, though a most earnest protestant, in the post of Colonel of the French King's Scottish Guards. The imprudent activity of his zeal became intolerable to a Court distinguished by its attachment to the Papacy, and he was compelled to fly from the pardonable resentment of a land whose faith and modes of worship he had contemned and insulted ; but the Reformers of Scotland received him as an object of persecution who had barely escaped martyrdom, and the political prejudices which were interwoven with their affection to the new discipline fixed on the family of Guise the charge of a deliberate plan to sacrifice this illustrious Scot to their vengeance against the reformation. Thus endeared to them, not less than by that presumptive right to the inheritance of the Throne which has been more than once stated in this work, he was formally recommended by the Scottish Parliament to Elizabeth in 1560, a few months after his flight from France, as a husband, and civilly rejected. A similar proposal was made on his behalf, under the same authority, to his own Sovereign, on her return to

Scotland, a widow, in the following year, but without better success. These disappointments, operating on a most impetuous and fiery nature, are said to have gradually overset a mind which seems to have been originally ill-balanced, and he became an incurable lunatic.

John, the second son, will be the subject of the present memoir ; and Claud, the third, was a young nobleman of the most exalted spirit and honour, a steady Roman Catholic, and most enthusiastically devoted to the cause of his royal mistress. With David, the fourth son, this little essay has no concern ; nor should I have detailed these particulars of his brothers James and Claud, were not the few facts which I have been able to obtain of the story of Lord John so frequently connected with theirs that the foregoing short recital respecting them seemed indispensably necessary.

He was born in 1532, and endowed, suitably to his high birth, while yet a child, with several royal grants of estates, particularly of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, which had been formerly held by Beatoun, during his progress to the primacy. He received his education in France, whether with a view to the ecclesiastical profession is uncertain, but undoubtedly under teachers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in strict conformity to the principles of that church ; which, however, after the example of his father and elder brother, he quitted about the year 1559, and embraced the protestant faith. This change seems to have been dictated neither by party views nor schemes of aggrandisement, in himself or them. The Duke, his father, who was born to the possession of dignity which could have been increased only by his succession to the Throne, loved that retirement for which the character and measure of his talents had in truth best fitted him ; Arran was known to have recanted, through a zeal which savoured of bigotry ; and his own invariable fidelity to the Catholic Mary, in opposition to the politics of those whose creed he had adopted, amply proved the honesty and independence of his motives, since

he at once hazarded the loss of her favour by renouncing the doctrines of her church, and incurred the hatred of her opponents by cherishing her temporal interests.

He did in fact offend both. Mary, on her arrival from France to mount the Throne of Scotland, found the Duke and his family not only protestants, but supporters of the cause of the congregation, in which she had been taught to believe that she could find only enemies. Arran, even while he aspired to her hand, endeavoured to prevent her practice of the rights of her religion, and entered a public protestation against it. The whole house of Hamilton fell under her disfavour, and retired from the Court, and the subsequent opposition of the Duke to her imprudent marriage with Darnley sealed his disgrace, and forced him to fly with his family into France. They remained there till her calamities required the aid and consolation of their loyalty. On receiving the news of her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, the Lords John and Claud Hamilton flew to Scotland, and mustered her scattered friends at their father's seat at Hamilton, where they signed with them, on the twenty-fifth of December, 1567, a bond of association to liberate her. The interesting tale of her escape by other means is well known. She reached Hamilton Palace in safety, where an army of six thousand men was presently raised for her service, at the head of which she marched in person to meet a force hastily led against her by her bastard brother the Regent Murray, which however gained a complete victory in the battle of Langside, on the thirteenth of May, 1568. She now fled to England, never to return, and in the following July every individual of the name of Hamilton who had fought for her on that day, including in fact nearly the whole of her army, was outlawed by a Parliament called by the Regent for that purpose.

The two succeeding years were distinguished by the violent deaths of the Earl of Murray, and his successor in the Regency, the Earl of Lenox. These assassinations, the

first of which had been perpetrated by a Hamilton, were laid by the friends of the deceased noblemen to the charge of the Lords John and Claud. Their illegitimate uncle, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had been accused of the murder of Murray, and put to death without a trial, and their names had been inserted in a general act of attainder, passed with the characteristic violence and injustice of the time, against all parties concerned in either of those crimes. At the treaty however of Perth, in 1573, which was appointed especially for the establishment of securities and amnesties, it was stipulated, that "all the processes, sentences of forfeiture, and all other prosecutions passed against George Earl of Huntly, the Lord John Hamilton, or any of their party or friends, for any crimes committed by them, or any of their party, since the fifteenth day of June, 1567, should be declared null and of no effect." Six years had passed, during which the Duke of Chatelherault had died, and the Lord John, in consequence of the insanity of his elder brother, Arran, had been declared heir to his father's estates, and was living on them in a dignified retirement; when Morton, then Regent, determined to crush at one blow the existing members of this illustrious House, and by practising on the fears and jealousies of the young King, made him a party in the iniquitous design.

It was pretended that the pardon conceded by the treaty of Perth did not extend to such as were accessary to the murder of the Regents Murray or Lenox. "Lord John and his brother," says Dr. Robertson, "were suspected of being the authors of both these crimes, and had been included in a general act of attainder on that account. Without summoning them to trial, or examining a single witness to prove the charge, this attainder was now thought sufficient to subject them to all the penalties which they would have incurred by being formally convicted. Morton, with some other noblemen, his creatures, received a commission to seize their persons and estates. On a few hours' warning a considerable

body of troops was ready, and marched towards Hamilton in hostile array. Happily the two brothers made their escape, though with great difficulty; but their lands were confiscated; the castles of Hamilton and Draffan besieged, and those who defended them punished. The Earl of Arran, though incapable, from his situation, of committing any crime, was involved by a shameful abuse of law in the common ruin of his family; and, as if he too could have been guilty of rebellion, he was confined a close prisoner. These proceedings, so contrary to the fundamental principles of justice, were all ratified in the subsequent Parliament."

The Lord John Hamilton fled on foot, in the disguise of a sailor, into England, and from thence to Paris, where his resistance to the importunities of the Duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal, that he would return to the Catholic church, gave such offence at Court as obliged him to retire, with scarcely the means of subsistence, into obscurity. After some years' painful residence in France he returned privately to England, where he met his brother Claud, and several Scots of high rank, who had fled from the tyranny of James's first and perhaps worst favourite, James Stewart, on whom he had bestowed the title of Earl of Arran, so basely torn from its unhappy owner. These eminent exiles now concerted a plan not only to re-enter their country, but to drive that unworthy minion from the presence of his abused master. They contrived by secret correspondence to appoint many dependents to meet them, armed, on the borders, and having approached Edinburgh by forced marches, with ten thousand men, before the King was apprised of their design, publicly swore never to separate till he should pardon them, and dismiss Stewart. James, dreading the popularity of their design, more than their numbers, threw himself into the castle of Stirling, rather with the view of gaining time to deliberate than in the hope of making a defence, and found himself suddenly invested by their troops. Incapable, and probably unwilling, to offer a military resistance, he

consented to both their demands. Admitted to his presence, the Lord John Hamilton addressed him on the behalf of the party, as we are informed by a respectable Scottish historian, in these words: "Sir, we are come, in the most humble manner, to beg mercy, and your Majesty's favour." The King, continues the same writer, answered: "My Lord, I did never see you before, and must confess that of all the company you have been most wronged. You were a faithful servant to the Queen, my mother, in my minority, and, when I understood not as I do the estate of kings, hardly used."

These curious circumstances, so highly illustrative at once of the timidity, the vanity, and the caprice, of James, occurred in October, 1585, and were immediately followed by the complete restoration in parliament of this illustrious and persecuted family. Lord John Hamilton was shortly after sworn a Privy Councillor, and appointed Governor of Dunbarton Castle; and, when the King in 1589 sailed to Denmark, to espouse in person the Princess Anne, was complimented with the post of Lieutenant General in the south of Scotland till his master's return: but it was not till 1599 that he received the compensation probably most soothing to his outraged feelings, on the seventeenth of April in which year he was created Marquis of Hamilton. He died on the twelfth of April, 1604.

This nobleman married Margaret, only daughter of John Lyon, eighth Lord Glamis, relict of Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Lord Cassilis, and had issue by her one son, James, his successor, and one daughter, Margaret, married to John, eighth Lord Maxwell.



GEORGE MUNRO,

EARL OF DUNFERMLINE

1605.

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

WE might search vainly through the whole circle of the biography of later centuries, and through the almost proverbial varieties of the English character, without meeting with a parallel to the disposition of this nobleman. He was by nature what the heroes of chivalry were from fashion, and stood alone, therefore, in a time to the manners of which he could not assimilate himself, like a being who having slept for ages, had suddenly awaked amidst the distant posterity of his contemporaries. The history of his singular life must be sought sometimes in the journal of the sailor, and sometimes in the tablets of the courtier: in the rough-hewn narrations of Hakluyt and Purchas, and in the light and elegant notices of Walpole and Pennant.

He was the eldest son of Henry Clifford, second Earl, by his second Countess Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. His father, dying in 1569, left him an infant of the age of eleven years, and his wardship was granted by the Crown to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford; but his education seems to have been superintended by the Viscount Montague, who had married his mother's sister, and at whose house, in Sussex, he passed some years of his youth. He went from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he studied in Peterhouse under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, or rather devoted his attention so earnestly to the Mathematics as to abstract it wholly from all other studies. Thus it happened

that the ardent spirit of adventure, and the boundless activity which afterwards distinguished him, took first a nautical turn, acquired an increased force by assuming a peculiar direction, and enhanced the charm of curiosity by adding to it the interest of science.

Several of the earlier years of his manhood passed, however, in unobserved employment, during which we hear only of him that he was one of the Peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots ; but immediately after that deplorable proceeding, he fitted out, at his private charge, a little naval force which sailed on an expedition planned by himself, while he, with a party of volunteers of distinguished rank, embarked for Holland, with the view of relieving Sluys, then besieged by the Prince of Parma. Both enterprises were unsuccessful. His fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace, the latter commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh, was destined to a voyage of discovery, but with particular instructions to lose no opportunity of annoying the Spaniards. It sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of June, 1586, but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and could not finally quit England till the end of August, when it bent its course towards the South Seas, and, having reached, amidst considerable dangers and difficulties, as far as forty-four degrees of southern latitude, returned home, after thirteen months' absence, having captured a few Portuguese vessels, from which little had been gained beyond those supplies of provision of which the crews had been frequently in imminent need.

In 1588 he commanded a ship called the Elizabeth Bonaventure, in the fleet which destroyed the Spanish Armada, and distinguished himself equally by his bravery and his skill in the various engagements by which that great work was accomplished, particularly in the last action, which was fought off Calais. Even during that arduous service, his mind was employed in projecting a second voyage to the South Seas, the command of which he determined to take on himself.

Elizabeth now flattered him with the distinction of a royal commission, and lent him one of her own ships, named the *Golden Lion*, which, however, as well as the rest, was fitted out solely at his charge. This expedition, which sailed in the following October, proved even more unfortunate than the former. Baffled by contrary winds and storms, in one of which he had been obliged to cut the mainmast of his own ship by the board, he returned, having scarcely been able to quit the Channel during his absence. In 1589, disappointed but not dispirited, on the eighteenth of June he again left England, with a force of three small ships, equipped by himself, and headed by the *Victory*, from the royal navy, in which he assumed the command. He now sailed to the West Indies, and was at length in some measure successful. He took the town of Fyal, and stripped it of fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and, in the course of this cruise, sent home twenty-eight ships of various burthen, laden with goods to the value of more than twenty thousand pounds. These advantages were not cheaply purchased. In a desperate engagement between the *Victory* and a Brazil ship, of St. Michael's, he received several wounds, and was severely scorched; and the sufferings of his men from want of provisions, especially water, on his return to England, are perhaps unparalleled in the multifarious relations of naval misery. A particular narrative of this horrible distress, by Edward Wright, a famous mathematician, who sailed with the Earl, may be found in Hakluyt's collection, and states at the conclusion, that the men who died of thirst exceeded in number those who had perished otherwise during the whole voyage. This calamity occurred almost within sight of the coast of Ireland, where at length, on the second of December, a change of wind permitted the survivors to land in Bantry Bay.

Hardship and danger, however, were agreeable to this singular man, and his romantic mind delighted in extremities of difficulty. He put to sea again, in May, 1591, with five

ships, manned and provisioned, as usual, at his own expense, and having cruised for some months in the Mediterranean with indifferent success, returned but to prepare for a fifth expedition, which left the shores of England, destined to the Azores, in the summer of the following year, and which, on some occasion of disgust, he suddenly declined to accompany. It proved more fortunate than any of his preceding enterprises, but in the end produced a serious mortification to himself. His ships, among inferior successes, captured, on their return, one of the Spanish Carraques, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds ; but, under the pretext of his personal absence, and other allegations, it was adjudged at home that he had no legal claim to any part of the sum. He was thrown therefore on the Queen's generosity for his requital, and in the end reluctantly accepted at her hands, as a boon, thirty-six thousand pounds. Yet, in 1593, he again sailed to the Spanish settlements, with four ships of his own, and the Golden Lion, and Bonaventure, from the navy, hoisting his flag on board the former ; and, after having captured a French convoy of great value, was compelled by a severe illness to quit his command, and return to England, leaving his little fleet under the orders of Monson, afterwards the most celebrated naval officer of his time. Several rich prizes were made after his departure, and this was the most profitable of all his expeditions. The ships anchored at Plymouth on the fifteenth of May, 1594 ; but the Earl, barely risen from his sick bed, had left that port three weeks before their arrival, with a small squadron, fitted out at the charge of himself and some others, and bound to the Azores, from whence, having grievously annoyed the Spaniards, with little profit to himself and his companions, he returned to Portsmouth in the end of August.

His passion for nautical adventure was now at the height. Unable to employ ships of sufficient force to support his hired vessels without borrowing from the Queen, and unwilling to subject himself to the control under which the use of such

loans necessarily placed him, he determined to build a man of war of his own, and accomplished the task. It was of the burthen of nine hundred tons; was launched at Deptford; and named by Elizabeth "The Scourge of Malice;" reputed the best and largest ship that had been built by any English subject. He entered it, in the river, on his eighth enterprise, accompanied by three inferior vessels, and had proceeded to Plymouth, when he received the Queen's command, by Raleigh, for his instant return to London, which he obeyed. His squadron, however, proceeded on its voyage to the Spanish main; made some prizes; and returned to take him on board for another cruise thither; in which his great ship was so shattered in a violent storm, which occurred when he had scarcely reached the distance of forty leagues from England, that he was obliged to retrace his course, and to wait, however impatiently, at home, till the vessel should be rendered again fit for service. At length, on the sixth of March, 1598, he embarked in it, at the head of nineteen others, on his last, and most considerable expedition. His expenses in the preparations for it had been enormous, and the expectations of his sanguine mind had kept pace with them. He sailed on the sixth of March for the West Indies, where, for seven months, he incessantly harassed the Spaniards in their settlements, to the great advantage of the public interests of his country; lost two of his ships, and more than a thousand of his men; and received from the produce of his captures about a tenth part of the sum which he had disbursed for the purposes of his voyage. "His fleet," however, says Lloyd, "was bound to no other harbour but the port of honour, though touching at the port of profit in passage thereunto."

Such is the outline of his maritime story. At home, his politeness, his courage, and his magnificence, were, in the strictest sense of the word, inimitable: highly tinged always by the singularity of his mind, they were solely and distinctly his own. He had good parts, but the warmth of

his temper, and the punctilious exactness of his notions of honour, rendered him unfit for any concern in public affairs. Elizabeth, who looked narrowly and judiciously into the characters of men, seems therefore to have employed him but on one short service, for which no one could have been better qualified—the reducing to obedience his eccentric compeer, Essex ; but she knew, perhaps admired, his foibles, and certainly flattered them. In 1592 she dignified and decorated him with the Order of the Garter. At an audience, upon his return from one of his voyages, she dropped her glove, which he took up, and presented to her on his knees. She desired him to keep it for her sake, and he adorned it richly with diamonds and wore it ever after in the front of his hat at public ceremonies. This little characteristic circumstance is commemorated in a very scarce whole-length portrait of the Earl, engraved by Robert White. She constituted him, on the resignation of Sir Henry Lea, Knight of the Garter, disabled by age, her own peculiar champion at all tournaments. Sir William Segar has preserved, in his treatise “of Honour Military and Civil,” an exact account of the pomp and parade of his admission into that romantic office, for the insertion of a short extract from which perhaps no apology may be necessary.

“ On the seventeenth day of November, anno 1590, this honourable gentleman ” (Sir Henry Lea), “ together with the Earl of Cumberland, having first performed their service in armes, presented themselves unto her Highnesse at the foot of the staires, under her gallery window, in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, where at that time her Majestie did sit, accompanied with the Viscount Turyn, ambassador of France, many ladies, and the chieftest nobilitie. Her Majestie, beholding these armed knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret as every one thereat greatly marvailed. And, hearkening to that excellent melodye, the earth, as it were, opening, there appeared a pavilion, made of white taffata, containing eight score elles, being

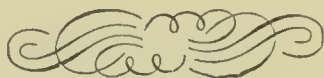
in proportion like unto the sacred temple of the virgins vestall. This temple seemed to consist upon pillars of pourferry, arched like unto a church: within it were many lamps burning: also on the one side there stood an altar, covered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles, burning in rich candlesticks: upon the altar also were laid certain princely presents, which, after, by three virgins were presented unto her Majestie. Before the doore of this temple stood a crowned pillar, embraced by an egantine tree, whereon was hanged a table, and therein written, with letters of gold, this prayer following. Elizæ, &c. Piæ, potenti, fœlicissimæ Virgini; fidei, pacis, nobilitatis, Vindici; cui Deus, astra, virtus, summa devoverunt omnia. Post tot annos, tot triumphos, animam ad pedes positurus tuos, sacra senex affixit arma. Vitam quietam, imperium, famam æternam, æternum, precatur tibi, sanguine redempturus suo. Ultra Columnas Herculis Columna moveatur tua. Corona superet Coronas omnes, ut quam Cœlum fœlicissimè nascenti Coronam dedit, beatissima moriens reportes Cœlo. Summe, Sancte, Æterne, audi, exaudi, Deus."

Having related other circumstances, not to the present purpose, the narrative concludes, "These presents and prayer being with great reverence delivered into her Majestie's owne hands, and he himself disarmed, offered up his armour at the foot of her Majestie's crowned pillar; and, kneeling upon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching she would be pleased to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her Majestie, gratically accepting of that offer, this aged knight armed the Earle, and mounted him upon his horse. That being done, he put upon his owne person a side coat of blacke velvet, pointed under the arme, and covered his head, in lieu of an helmet, with a buttoned cap, of the countrey fashion."

The Earle's expenses in discharging the duties, if they may be so called, of this fantastic office; in horse-racing, which

had then lately become fashionable ; and in feasts, which rivalled the splendour of royalty ; added to the aggregate loss on the whole of his maritime career, greatly impaired his estate. He was, to say the least, careless of his family ; lived on ill terms with his Countess, Margaret, third daughter of his guardian, Francis Earl of Bedford, a woman of extraordinary merit, but perhaps too high-spirited for such a husband ; and neglected the interests, as well as the education, of his only surviving child. Of that child, little less remarkable than her father, Anne, wife first to Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and secondly to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, some account, together with her portrait, will presently appear in this work.

George, Earl of Cumberland, died at the Savoy, in London, on the thirtieth of October, 1605, and was buried at Skipton, in Yorkshire, where was the chief seat of his family, on the thirtieth, says Dugdale, of the following March.





CHARLES BLOUNT

BARON MONTJOY

AND EARL OF DEVONPORT

OB. 1606.

CHARLES BLOUNT,

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

THIS accomplished person, an ornament equally to the characters of soldier, statesman, scholar, and courtier, was the second of the two sons of James, fifth Lord Montjoy, by Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, of St. Oswald, in the county of York. He was born in the year 1563, and completed a fine education at Oxford, but in what college the industrious biographer of that University has omitted to inform us. The patrimony of his superb House had been long gradually decaying. His grandfather had burthened it with heavy debts in supporting an unusual magnificence in the romantic splendours of the Court of Henry the Eighth; his father, in the view of repairing the loss, increased it tenfold by endless endeavours to discover the philosopher's stone; and his elder brother nearly annihilated the remnant by various and less creditable prodigality. For himself, without money, and without friends, no choice was left between absolute penury and a profession more or less laborious, and he seems to have been destined accordingly to the study and practice of the law. Of his anxiety to repair the fallen fortunes of his family, as well as of his ready wit, we have a striking instance, from the best authority—His parents wishing in his childhood, to have a portrait of him, he desired that he might be painted with a trowel in his hand, with this inscription: “*Ad reædificandam antiquam Domum.*”

Sir Robert Naunton has given us a sketch of his early manhood with a freshness and vivacity which could not but

be injured by alteration. "As he came from Oxford," says Naunton, "he took the Inner Temple in his way to the Court, whither he no sooner came, but, without asking, he had a pretty strange kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about twenty years of age; of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composure, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at dinner, whither he came, to see the fashion of the Court. The Queen had soon found him out, and, with a kind of affected frown, asked the lady carver what he was. She answered she knew him not; insomuch as an enquiry was made from one to another who he might be, till at length it was told the Queen he was brother to the Lord William Montjoy. This inquisition, with the eye of Majesty fixed upon him (as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not) stirred the blood of this young gentleman insomuch as his colour came and went, which the Queen observing, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiss, encouraging him with gracious words, and new looks; and so diverting her speech to the lords and ladies, she said that she no sooner observed him but that she knew there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions, of pity towards his house; and then again demanding his name, she said, 'fail you not to come to the Court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good.' And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace; where it falls into consideration that, though he wanted not wit and courage, for he had very fine attractions, and being a good piece of a scholar, yet were they accompanied with the retracts of bashfulness, and a natural modesty, which, as the tone of his House, and the ebb of his fortune, then stood, might have hindered his progression, had they not been reinforced by the infusion of sovereign favour, and the Queen's gracious invitation. And, that it may appear how low he was, and how much that heretic necessity will work in the dejection of good spirits, I

can deliver it with assurance that his exhibition was very scant until his brother died, which was shortly after his admission to the Court, and then it was no more than a thousand marks per annum, wherewith he lived plentifully, in a fine way and garb, and without any great sustentation, during all her time ; and as there was in his nature a kind of backwardness, which did not befriend him, nor suit with the motion of the Court, so there was in him an inclination to arms, with a humour of travelling and gadding abroad, which had not some wise men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen herself laid in her commands, he would, out of his natural propension, have marred his own market."

It seems however to have been some time before he gratified this disposition, for in 1585 he was elected a burgess for St. Ives, in Cornwall, and in the Parliament which met in the following year was chosen for Berealston, in Devon, which borough he again represented some years after. He was also knighted in 1586, and we first hear of him with certainty in a warlike character as one of the crowd of volunteers of quality who hired vessels to join the fleet sent to meet the Spanish Armada. Yet there is no doubt that about this time he had a small command in the Low Countries, for we are again told by Naunton that "he would press the Queen with the pretences of visiting his company there so often, that at length he had a flat denial ;" but even this he disregarded, and embarked privately with Sir John Norris, whom he entirely loved, and used to call his father, in the furious expedition made by that great officer to the coast of Bretagne in 1591. "At last," says Naunton, "the Queen began to take his decessions for contempts, and confined his residence to the Court, and her own presence."

In 1594 he was appointed Governor of Portsmouth ; nor was it till this year, contrary to Naunton's report, that he succeeded to the Barony of Montjoy, on the death of William his elder brother. Highly distinguished now by a partiality which Elizabeth could not conceal, he had yet long to wait

for those solid proofs of her favour which his qualifications evidently merited. Essex seems to have retarded his preferment, under a general impression of jealousy, perhaps heightened by a somewhat vindictive recollection of a particular personal offence. Montjoy, shortly before he became possessed of that title, had so delighted Elizabeth by his gallantry and dexterity in a tilt at which she was present that she sent him, as a mark of her approbation, a chess-queen of gold, richly enamelled, with which, tied to his arm with a crimson riband, he appeared the next day at Court. Essex, observing it as he passed through the privy chamber, enquired of his friend, Sir Fulke Greville, what it meant? and, on being informed, exclaimed, "Now I perceive that every fool must have a favour," which insulting speech having reached Blount's ears, he challenged the Earl, and they met in Marybone Park, where Essex received a wound in the thigh, and was disarmed. Yet it was to this favourite, whom Elizabeth well knew to be too generous to cherish illiberal resentments, that she joined Montjoy in his first conspicuous public services—she appointed him Lieutenant General of the land forces in Essex's expedition to the Azores in 1597, and, on the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, towards the close of the same year, gave him a similar commission to serve under the Earl in that island, adding to it the dignity of the Garter.

The office of Lord Deputy there becoming vacant in the succeeding year, Elizabeth and the most of her Council were strongly inclined to place Montjoy in it, but were opposed by Essex, who secretly coveted it for himself. Camden tells us that he objected against his rival his small experience in military affairs; the slenderness of his estate and interest; and to use Camden's words, that "he minded books too much to attend to the government." Essex, though his favour was then in the wane, prevailed, and on the final extinction of it, produced a few months after by the extravagance of his own conduct, was succeeded by Montjoy. "So confident," says Naunton, "was the Queen in her own

princely judgment and opinion she had conceived of his worth and conduct, that she would have this worthy gentleman, and none other, to finish and bring the Irish war to a propitious end ; for it was a prophetic speech of her own that it would be his fortune and his honour to cut the thread of that fatal rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave ; where she was not deceived, for he achieved it, but with much pains and carefulness, and many jealousies of the Court and time." Montjoy arrived in Ireland on the fourteenth of February, 1600, N. S., and without an hour's delay, commenced the practice of a system of warfare wholly new to his half civilised, however brave, adversaries, and which he had previously formed on a most judicious consideration of the character and habits of the people, and of the peculiar features of those parts of the island which were the main seats of the war. His plans, the produce of his closet, were executed in the field with all the judgment, bravery, activity, and precision, a union of which is esteemed to constitute the perfection of military command. The following letter, written soon after his arrival, affords curious proof of his vivacity, his high spirit, and the familiarity which it may be presumed it was his habit to use in his private intercourse with his haughty sovereign. The original is in the Cotton Collection.

"May itt please youre Ma^{ty}:"

In this greate game, wheare on equall hazarde you venture gollde against led, though you winn more, yett your losses willbe more famus, and the best reconyngs wee can make you will seem shorte till you vouchsafe to looke uppon the whole somme. If since my comminge over I should give you an accounte unto this daye, I will presume to speake itt withe assurance, your Ma^{ty} hathe woon muche more than you have lost, and you have lost nothing thatt the prudence of your minister coulde prevente. Your army hathe recovered harte and reputacyon, and the estate, hope beyond their owne expectation, w^{ch} I esteem so great a degree unto good success

as thatt by compassinge so much I have already stepped over the greatest barr to doo you servis. The Earle of Ormond's parley I vowe, on my aleageance to God and you, was wthout my privitye, and so muche have I distasted the lyke in others thatt, before this accidente, I have forbidden itt to private captaynes, and no rebell hathe ever yet spoken to myselfe but upon his knees; but, iff I may presume to yeeld unto your Ma^{tie} a just excuse for the President of Moonster, as itt was not in his power to kinder the Earle's parley, so his intention to be present was to do you servis by discoveringe in his manner many jelozeys conceived uppon good grownds, and off great consequence to your Ma^{tie}; neither was he able to give him any farther answe. when the Earle's owne men had forsaken him. Your Ma^{tie}, in youre heavenly nature, may be moved with this great example humanæ fragilitatis, but I hope you shall not heere off any dangerus consequence thereoff to your servis. I feare nott his countrie, though itt wear all oute, for neither the place nor people have any great strengthe; but my mynde doth labor wth the estate off no province more then off Conaught: but God prosper youre armye this sum̃er, and theas plantations, nowe, and then, I hope itt, will be in your power, either to bowe or to breake the crooked humors of theas people; and God make me able to do your deere and royal Ma^{tie} the servis I desyre.

2 April, 1600.

Your Ma^{tie}'s truest servant,

E. MOUNTJOYE.

To her sacred Majesté."

A detail of the occurrences of this war, after it fell under the direction of Montjoy, is properly matter for the historian; suffice it therefore to say that, after two campaigns of uninterrupted success he terminated it by a most decisive victory, in the neighbourhood of Kinsale, over the largest army ever brought into the field by the insurgents, aided too by between six and seven thousand Spanish troops. O'Neill, Earl of

Tyrone, the great chieftain of the rebellion, soon after surrendered on certain conditions of a distant pardon, one of which, it is curious to observe, was that he should present himself to the Lord Deputy on his knees. Montjoy led him afterwards a prisoner to London, but it was to grace the triumph of a new Sovereign, for Elizabeth, in consonance with her prediction, was on her death-bed when Tyrone made his formal submission in Ireland.

James's first care on his arrival in England was to reward the eminent services of Montjoy. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1603, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; within a few days sworn of the Privy Council; and, on the twenty-first of July, created Earl of Devonshire. The appointments of Master of the Ordnance, and Warden of the New Forest, were soon after conferred on him; and to these were added grants of the estate of Kingston Hall in Dorsetshire; of the county of Lecal, together with a reversion of other valuable lands in Ireland; and of an ample pension from the Crown, to him and his heirs for ever. He came to England not long after the King's accession, for we are told that he was one of the Peers present at the arraignment of Raleigh in the following November: nor does he appear after that period to have resided much in his government, which indeed his late eminent services had rendered in great measure a sinecure. In 1604 he was one of the five commissioners to treat in London of a peace between England and Spain; and here it may be proper to account for some singularity in the appearance of the portrait prefixed to this memoir by observing, that the very curious picture from which it is taken represents those five ministers, in conference with six Spanish noblemen, all seated on armed chairs, and ranged in exact order of rank at the opposite sides of a long table. At the foot of the picture appear the names of the eleven negociators, with marks of reference to their several portraits, which, if we may judge from the success which the artist has displayed in depicting those

heads among them which are familiar to us, may be presumed to exhibit the most lively resemblances. The inscription which refers to the portrait of the Earl is "Carlos, C^{de} de Denshier, Vi~rey de Irlanda."

Apparently endowed now with all the choicest gifts of good fortune, this accomplished man pined secretly under the oppression of a domestic misery which a high sense of honour, and a tone of mind acutely sensitive, combined to render intolerable. A mutual affection, contracted in early life and in the days of his necessity, with Penelope, eldest daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had gradually ripened into the most ardent love, and was privately sealed by an interchange of marriage vows. It is reasonable to suppose that a discovery produced the contest, too common in such cases, between what the world, with equal injustice, calls youthful folly and parental prudence. The lady was forced into a marriage with the wealthy Robert, Lord Rich, and a guilty connection between the lovers followed, which remained for some years unobserved. Lady Rich at length abandoned her husband, taking with her five children whom she declared to be the issue of the Earl; who, on his part, amidst the fearful conflict of various and even contrary feelings, submitted to the impulse of those which till now had been chief ornaments of his character, and sullied the fair passions of love and pity by rendering them the instruments of insult to society, and of aggravation of the censure which fell on himself. He received her, with what mournful cordiality may easily be supposed; and on her divorce from Lord Rich, which of course immediately followed, was married to her at Wanstead, in Essex, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1605. Laud, who was then a young man and the Earl's domestic chaplain, performed the nuptial ceremony; and a loud outcry was instantly raised against him by the puritans, and by his numerous polemical adversaries. The King also felt, or affected, the highest indignation, and Laud was for a time thought to have blasted all his views

of preferment, by having thus sanctioned a connection so scandalous ; but a severer fate, as well as the most exalted dignities, were in reserve for him.

The Earl survived this wretched union but for a very few months, and it has been even said that he sunk under the weight of the bitter public reflections which it had excited. He died on the third of April, 1606, and was buried with great pomp in St. Paul's chapel, in Westminster Abbey. Fynes Morrison, who had been his secretary in Ireland, tells us, in his "Travels," a book not much known, to which I am obliged for some of the foregoing particulars, that "grief of unsuccessful love brought him to his last end ;" but Mr. Chamberlaine, in a letter to Secretary Winwood, of the fifth of April, 1606, seasoning his news with a severity scarcely reasonable, says—"the Earl of Devonshire left this life on Thursday night last, soon and early for his years, but late enough for himself, and happy had he been if he had gone two or three years since, before the world was weary of him, or that he had left that scandal behind him. He was not long sick past eight or ten days, and died of a burning fever, and putrefaction of his lungs, a defect he never complained of. He hath left his lady, (for so she is now generally held to be,) fifteen hundred pounds a year, and most of his moveables ; and of five children that she fathered upon him at the parting from her former husband, I do not hear that he provided for more than three ; leaving to the eldest son, I hear, between three and four thousand pounds a year ; and to a daughter six thousand pounds in money."

Whatever might have been the extent of the public resentment of the Earl's private conduct in this unhappy instance, the royal family seem to have not long partaken in it, for the "eldest son," mentioned by Chamberlaine, who was called Montjoy Blount, was created by James, Baron Montjoy, of Montjoy Fort, in Ireland ; and was advanced by Charles the First to the English dignity of Earl of Newport, in the Isle

Wight ; titles which, having passed successively through

his three sons, became extinct in Henry Blount, the youngest, in 1681.

In Dr. Birch's collection, in the British Museum, is a manuscript, of twenty-eight closely penned pages, with the title of "A Discourse of Matrimony, written by the Earle of Devonshire, in defence of his marriage with the Lady Riche." It is composed in the best style of the time ; abounds with ingenious argument ; and quotes, in addition to numberless passages in Scripture, perhaps every author who ever wrote, either professedly or incidentally, on the subjects of marriage and divorce. I recollect to have formerly met, I know not where, with some reference to it, but whether it has ever been printed is at least doubtful.





THOMAS SACKVILLE,

EARL OF DORSET.

OE. 1608.

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

EARL OF DORSET.

THERE is little chance that the story of this eminent person should ever be well told, for the narrator ought to possess the rare advantages of a mind somewhat like his own. The grave and minute annalist, and the sober recorder of family history, are seldom qualified even to discern the lofty track, still less to follow the rapid course, of genius ; while those whose happy fancies can create and people new worlds, look down with disdain on the dull round of human affairs. Sackville was the first poet, and one of the first statesmen, of his time ; and the biographer who would profess to celebrate his fame with justice should be at once a poet and an historian, a politician and a critic.

He was the only son of Sir Richard Sackville, a lineal descendant of one of the Norman band which accompanied William the Conqueror to England ; Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation under Edward the Sixth, and in the two following reigns ; and a Privy Councillor to Mary and Elizabeth, the last of whom he served also in the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This gentleman was nearly related to Elizabeth, for he was first cousin, by his mother, to Anne Boleyn, and that circumstance, which many years before had introduced him at the court, peculiarly recommended him to the favour of her daughter. His first wife was Winifred, daughter of Sir John Bruges, a wealthy alderman of London, and Thomas Sackville, the subject of this memoir,

was the sole issue of their marriage. He was born in 1536, at Buckhurst, in the parish of Withiam, in Sussex, where his family had long been seated, and was educated both at Oxford and Cambridge, in the latter of which Universities he took the degree of Master of Arts. He removed from thence to the Inner Temple, where, according to the custom of young men of rank in his time, he studied the law, with no view of making it his profession, but as a necessary part of a gentleman's breeding, and was called to the bar, soon after which he became a member of the House of Commons. He had been already for some years distinguished as a poet, of which however I shall say little at present, and is supposed to have composed many small pieces in English, as well as in Latin verse, of which, being probably mingled with those of others, or in some instances totally lost, we are now nearly ignorant. We know that those poems on which his fame so justly rests were written before he had reached the twenty-fifth year of his age, and we know not that he wrote any thing afterwards.

About that period he married, and soon after travelled through France and Italy, from whence he returned in 1566, on receiving at Rome the news of his father's death, and, on the eighth of June in that year, he was advanced by Elizabeth to the peerage, by the title of Lord Buckhurst. His father, in addition to a fine inheritance, was so well known to have amassed immense wealth that it was usual, by a vulgar anagram, to call him "Fill Sack." The son, who had been before very profuse, which probably occasioned his going abroad at an unusual time of life, became now extravagant beyond all bounds, and soon fell into considerable difficulties. He is said to have been reclaimed by Elizabeth's wholesome advice; but Fuller tells us, and there is nothing improbable in the tale, that "happening to call on an Alderman of London, who had gained great pennyworths by former purchases of him, he was made to wait so long, that his generous humour, being sensible of the incivility of such attendance,

resolved to be no more beholden to wealthy pride, and presently turned a thrifty improver of the remainder of his estate." Certain it is, whatever might have been the cause, that he suddenly changed his imprudence for a magnificent economy, which never after forsook him. The Queen, who either really loved her kindred, or highly countenanced them from a proud respect to herself, took him into considerable personal favour, though she conferred on him no permanent employment, either in her government or household, for many years. She sent him on an embassy to Paris in 1570, to congratulate Charles the Ninth on his nuptials, and to treat of the marriage then proposed between herself and the Duke of Anjou, brother to that Prince, appointed him one of the Commissioners for the trial, and committed to him the miserable office of superintending the execution of Mary Queen of Scots; and in 1587 intrusted to him, in the character of her ambassador extraordinary to the United States, the difficult duty of hearing and composing their complaints against the Earl of Leicester, his honesty in the performance of which drew on him the vengeance of that favourite, through whose influence the Queen was induced to recal him, and to place him in confinement in his own house, where he remained a prisoner for nine or ten months, during which he never saw his wife or children.

If Elizabeth by any act of imprudence ever placed herself in the power of another, Leicester was the man. Haughty, furious, and unfeeling as she was, her submission to his will, even when opposite to her own, was invariable; and her conduct at this time towards Lord Buckhurst affords a curious proof of it. Leicester died in September, 1588: Sackville was immediately released: in the April following he was named, without his knowledge, a Knight of the Garter; and in the course of that and the succeeding year, was employed in several services which required the strictest fidelity, among which the affairs of the United Provinces were peculiarly committed to his charge. In 1591 he was elected Chancellor

of the University of Oxford, in opposition to the favoured Essex, and that through the especial interference of the Queen herself, who some months after honoured him with a visit there. In 1598 he was selected to treat of a peace with Spain, and on the fifteenth of May in that year was raised to the office of High Treasurer, on the death of Burghley. On the occasion of Essex's wild insurrection, he distinguished himself as much by his humanity as his wisdom ; warned the unhappy Earl in time, with the kindness of a private friend, of the danger of his courses ; and presided as Lord High Steward on his trial, with the strictest impartiality. The office of Earl Marshal becoming vacant by Essex's death, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for performing the duties of it. Elizabeth died soon after.

His patent for the office of Lord Treasurer was renewed by James, even before that Prince quitted Scotland ; the choice of the principal servants of the Crown was in a great measure intrusted to him ; and on the thirteenth of the March following the King's accession he was created Earl of Dorset. The faculties of his high office soon became strangely changed. In the late reign the main occupation of the chief minister of finance was to dispose properly of the means which had arisen from natural and simple resources, well chosen, and well husbanded ; in this, to devise extraordinary methods to replenish a treasury exhausted by the most absurd profusion. The circumstances of Dorset's private life somewhat qualified him for acting in either situation with more ease than most men, but that he should have possessed in each the unvaried good opinion not only of his Sovereigns, but of his compeers, and of the people, can be ascribed only to a rare perfection both of head and heart. The two following letters, which were placed a few years since by me in a Life of Sir Julius Cæsar, who acted under him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, may be considered as great curiosities, for the lively light which they throw on a part of the character of Sackville's mind, independently of the striking proof afforded by them of

the financial distress of that reign ; nor are they less estimable as specimens of his epistolary composition, especially since Naunton has informed us that "his secretaries did little for him by the way of indictment, wherein they could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrase and style." These letters were written to Sir Julius by the Earl's own hand.

"I have just sined your 2 orders, and do gretely thank you for delivering my most humble thanks to his Ma^{tie}. As for clamors for monies when ther is no meanes to pay, that is news to you but not to me. I know not, nor no man erthly knows, any other remedy but to aunswer them that they must tary til it come in. As for any ordinaries coming in, Sir Vincent Skinner can alwaies tell you far better than I, for he was alwaies my informmer ; and as for extraordinaries, I know of none but this of the tinne. That can go neither forward nor backwards by my presens. I have left full ordre with M^r Attorney, and Sir Rich. Smith, to expedite the same ; but the delivery of the tinne at London, and in Cornwale, in my opinion will not be done thies 20 daies yet. As to my coming to London, I know not a halfpeny of help that I can give you therby, if I were fit, or able ; and I thank humbly his Ma^{tie} he hath geven me credit to seke to recover my helth, w^{ch} I desier to do for his serves ; but God doth know that I have yet found a small beginning of recovery, and do leave all to God's mercies, knowing, that only time, aier, and free from business, must help this rooted cold and cough of mine, so fast fixed in me.

"So I rest, ever your most assured friend,

"HORSLEY,

"T. DORSET.

31 May, 1607."

He concludes, a few days after, in the following terms, a very long letter on the preemption of tin by the Crown ; a unpopular, but not new project, in which James's ministers

were then busily employed, and which is alluded to in the preceding. The letter has no date, but is indorsed by Sir Julius Cæsar, "9 Junii, 1607."

"Now, Mr. Chauncellor, touching your lamentacōn of the clamors and sutes that are daily made to you for money, and how grevous it is unto you, and therefore desier my help and advise what you shold do, I can say but this; that true fortitude is never daunted, and truth ought never to be either afraid or ashamed. You may truly aunswer them that the king's dets, his subsidies, his rents, his revenues, notwithstanding all the meanes for levieng of them that possibly may be devised, ar not paid, but pecemele come in, with grete difficulty; and how can the king's Ma^{tie} pay that wth he owes, when that which is owing to him is unpaied? Besides his Ma^{tie} hath brought wth him an increse of a most comfortable charge; as of a quene, the king's wief; a prince; and other his most royall progeny. Thes ar comfortable charges, and all good subjects must help willinglie to bear the burden therof.—That the King of Spaine himself, that hath so many Indian gold and silver mines to help him, doth yet leave his dets many times unpaied, upon accidents that happen.—That the king's Ma^{tie}, and his counsell, do not neglect to devise all possible meanes and waies to bring in monies, and do not dout, within convenient time, though sodenly it cannot be doon, to procure good helpes towards satisfaction of the dettes.—That alredy he hath assined a good part of his subsidy to discharge the same.—That no labours shall be spared to effect the same: in the meane while they must have paciens, and be content.—That as the king's revenues do come in, so they shall have part and part among them; for one must not have all, and the rest nothing. These, and such like, are true aunswers, and ought, and must satisfie, and these you must not be afraid to geve; and such as will not be satisfied with thes ar men without dutie or reson; therefore no great matter though they be unsatisfyed.

“ Now, Mr. Chauncellor, if 3 weekes be so grevous unto you, what will you think of my greif that in this kind have indured the greif of 3 yeres ? But let this be your last and chiefest comfort—that we have a most roiall, rare, and most gracious king, for whom we can never speke to much, nor do sufficient, though we expend our lieves, lands, and goods, and all that we have, in this servis. I have told you that I will bend all my indevours to bring in monies, which also must have it's due time, for sodenly you may not expect it : p̄fering you therefore that w^{ch} now āptaineth to you, and, by the grace of God, you shall se that I will so laboriously, and I hope so effectually, procede in the other, as you shall have comfort, and I my harty contentation, that I may do some acceptable servis to so gracious a soverin.

“ Yōr most assured friend,

“ T. DORSET.”

Such was his vivacity in the seventy-second year of his age, and when labouring under the greatest infirmity of body, which is somewhat singularly confirmed by a passage in his most remarkable will, referring to the very date of the last of these letters. After having ordained, at great length, and with the utmost preciseness of diction that caution could suggest, that four certain jewels should be preserved for ever in his family, as heir-looms, he proceeds to state his motives for so highly valuing them : and having exactly described the first which he names, adds—“ and, to the intent that they (his heirs male) may knowe howe just and great cause both they and I have to hold the sayed rynge with twentie diamonds in so highe esteeme, yt is most requisite that I do here set downe the whole course and circumstance howe, and from whome the same rynge did come to my possession, which was this. In the beginning of the monethe of June, one thousand sixe hundred and seaven, this rynge thus sett with twenty diamondes, as ys aforesaid, was sent unto me from my most gracious soveraigne King James, by that

honorable personage the Lord Hays, one of the gentlemen of his highness' bedchamber, the court then being at Whitehall, in London, and I at that time remaining at Horseley House, in Surrey, twenty miles from London, where I lay in such extremity of sickness as it was a common and a constant report all over London that I was dead, and the same confidently affirmed unto the king's highness himself: upon which occasion it pleased his most excellent majesty, in token of his gracious goodness and great favour towards me, to send the said Lord Hays with the ring, and this royal message unto me, namely—that his highness wished a speedy and a perfect recovery of my health, with all happy and good success unto me, and that I might live as long as the diamonds of that ring (which therewithall he delivered unto me) did endure; and, in token thereof, required me to wear it, and keep it for his sake. This most gracious and comfortable message restored a new life unto me, as coming from so renowned and benigne a sovereign unto a servant so far from unworthy of so great a favour," &c.

He recovered his health sufficiently to return to London, and to attend to the more important concerns of his office, and in August made the will of which I have spoken. He survived, however, till the nineteenth of the following April, when he expired in an instant, as he sat at the council table, surrounded by the chief officers of the state, and in the presence of the king. "On opening his head," says Sir Richard Baker, "they found in it certain little bags of water, which, falling upon his brain, caused his death;" but his constitution had been completely broken by his previous illness, though his mind retained its pristine vigour to his last moment. Perhaps it may not be too much to affirm of him that he possessed, together with the brightest genius, and an understanding abundantly solid and useful, the highest honour, the strictest integrity, and the most undoubted loyalty, that could be found among the great public men of his time.

Sackville's poetical talents have always been regarded by a few, in whom a just feeling has been united to a just judgment, with a degree of respect amounting nearly to reverence: to others they are almost wholly unknown. That fashion, however, if I may presume to use so light a term, which has of late so widely diffused itself, of collecting the scattered and forgotten English poesy of former ages, may probably place him in his proper rank in general reputation. Those whom nature has qualified to appreciate truly his genius will express their wonder at the neglect which it has experienced; and ignorant affectation will spread his fame, by repeating the lessons it will catch by rote from legitimate taste. Yet Sackville will not delight the multitude of the present time. His very perfections will prevent it. The truth and simplicity of his designs; his stern and solemn morality; the awful grandeur of his imagery, will have no charms for those who can hang in rapture over the bald and tedious ballad monotonies, and the fierce and mysterious rhapsodies, from which the poets of our day derive the laurel. But the scope of these sketches, especially as I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting a specimen of his muse, forbids any lengthened discussion of their merits. Suffice it therefore to say, that Lord Orford thought it probable that "to the boldness of *Buckhurst's* scenes we might owe *Shakspeare*;" and that *Warton* has given him the credit of teaching to *Spenser* the method of designing allegorical personages. His works were, the tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex*, called in a later edition "*Gorboduc*;" the "*Induction*" (or poetical preface) to the series of legendary tales, by several hands, of unfortunate princes, and other great men, intituled "*The Mirror for Magistrates*;" together with the "*Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham*," which are the chief ornaments to that collection. *Gorboduc*, in which it has been improbably said that he was assisted by *Thomas Norton*, a contemporary poet of small distinction, amidst several of the imperfections of a bold experiment, has the merits of being the first attempt

made in this country to chase from the stage the devout mummeries of its infancy, and of having introduced into dramatic composition a dignity and perspicuity of style, and a strength of reflection, to which it had before been wholly unaccustomed. His greater work shall speak for itself, in an extract from the Induction, which some may think too long, and which others will wish had been yet further extended.—The poet is led by Sorrow, exquisitely personified, to the utmost extent of the infernal regions, where the mighty unfortunates are to pass him in review, and to recount their respective histories. On his way he encounters the following griesly inmates of the vast prison.

And first within the porch and jawes of hell,
 Sate deep Remorse of conscience, all besprent
 With teares ; and to herself oft would she tell
 Her wretchednesse ; and, cursing, never stent
 To sob and sigh ; but ever thus lament,
 With thoughtfull care, as she that all in vaine
 Would weare and waste continually in paine.

Her eyes, unsteadfast rolling here and there,
 Whurl'd on each place, as place that vengeance brought :
 So was her mind continually in feare,
 Tossed and tormented with tedious thought
 Of those detested crimes which she had wrought :
 With dreadfull cheere, and looks throwne to the skie,
 Wishing for death, and yet she could not die.

Next saw we Dread—all trembling how he shooke!
 With foote uncertaine, profered here and there,
 Benum'd of speech, and, with a ghastly looke,
 Search't every place ; all pale, and dead for feare ;
 His cap borne up with staring of his heare :
 Soy'n'd and amaz'd at his owne shade for dreed,
 And fearing greater dangers than was need.

And next, within the entrie of this lake,
 Sate fell Revenge, gnashing her teeth for ire ;
 Devising meanes how she may vengeance take ;
 Never in rest till she have her desire ;
 But frets within so far forth with the fire
 Of wreaking flames, that now determines she
 To die by death, or veng'd by death to be.

When fell Revenge, with bloudie foul pretence,
 Had shew'd herselfe as next in order set,
 With trembling limbes we softly parted thence,
 Till in our eyes another sight we met :
 When from my heart a sigh forthwith I fet,
 Ruing alas! upon the wofull plight
 Of Miserie, that next appear'd in sight.

His face was leane, and some deale pin'd away ;
 And eke his hands consumed to the bone :
 But what his bodie was I cannot say,
 For on his carkas rayment had he none,
 Save clouts and patches, pieced one by one :
 With staffe in hand, and scrip on shoulder east,
 His chief defence against the winter's blast.

His food for most was wilde fruits of the tree,
 Unless sometime some crums fell to his share,
 Which in his wallet long, God wot, kept he,
 As one the which full daintily would faire :
 His drink the running stream ; his cup the bare
 Of his palme closde ; his bed the hard cold ground :
 To this poore life was Miserie ybound.

Whose wretched state when we had well beheld,
 With tender ruth on him, and on his fecres,
 In thoughtfull cares forth then our pace we held,
 And by and by another shape appeares,
 Of greedie Care, still brushing up tho breers :
 His knuckles knob'd, his flesh deepe dented in ;
 With tawed hands, and hard ytanned skin.

The morrow gray no sooner hath begun
 To spread his light, even peeping in our eyes,
 When he is up, and to his work yrun.
 But let the night's blacke mistie mantles rise,
 And with foul darke never so much disguise
 The faire bright day, yet ceaseth he no while,
 But hath his candles to prolong his toile.

By him lay heavie Sleepe, cosin of Death,
 Flat on the ground, and still as any stone;
 A very corps, save yeelding forth a breath.
 Small keepe tooke he whom Fortune frowned on,
 Or whom she lifted up into the throne
 Of high renown; but, as a living death,
 So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath.

The bodies rest; the quiet of the heart;
 The travailes ease; the still night's feere was he:
 And of our life in earth the better part;
 Rever of sight, and yet in whom we see
 Things oft that tide, and oft that never bee.
 Without respect esteeming equally
 King Cræsus' pompe, and Irus' povertie.

And next in order sad Old Age we found:
 His beard all hore, his eyes hollow and blind;
 With drouping cheere still poring on the ground,
 As on the place where nature him assign'd
 To rest, when that the Sisters had untwin'd
 His vital thred, and ended with their knife
 The fleeting course of fast declining life.

There heard we him, with broke and hollow plaint,
 Ruc with himselfe his end approaching fast;
 And all for nought his wretched mind torment
 With sweete remembrance of his pleasures past,
 And fresh delites of lustie youth forewast:
 Recounting which, how would he sob and shreek,
 And to be yong again of Jove beseeke.

But, and the cruel fates so fixed be
That time forepast cannot returne again,
This one request of Jove yet prayed he—
That in such withred plight, and wrtched paine,
As eld (accompanied with loathsome traine)
 Had brought on him, all were it woe and griefe,
 He might a while yet linger forth his life;

And not so soone descend into the pit
Where Death, when he the mortall corps hath slaine,
With wretchlesse hand in grave doth cover it,
Threafter never to enjoy againe
The gladsome light, but, in the ground, ylaine,
 In depth of darknesse, waste, and weare, to nought,
 As he had nere into the world been brought.

But who had seene him, sobbing how he stood
Unto himselfe, and how he would bemone
His youth forepast, as though it wrought him good
To talke of youth all were his youth forgone,
He would have musde and marvail'd much whereon
 This wretched Age should life desire so faine,
 And knows ful wel life doth but length his paine.

Crookebackt he was, toothshaken, and blere eyde;
Went on three feete, and sometime crept on foure;
With old lame bones that rattled by his side;
His scalpe all pil'd, and he with eld forlore;
His withred fist still knocking at Death's dore;
 Fumbling, and driveling, as he drawes his breath,
 For briefe, the shape and messenger of Death.

And fast by him pale Maladic was plaste,
Sore sieke in bed, her colour all forgone;
Bereft of stomache, savour, and of taste:
Ne could she brooke no meate, but broths alone:
Her breath corrupt; her keepers every one
 Abhorring her; her sickness past recure;
 Detesting physicke, and all physicke's cure.

But oh the doleful sight that then we see !
 We turn'd our looke, aud, on the other side,
 A griesly shape of Famine mought we see,
 With greedie lookes, and gaping mouth, that cried
 And roar'd for meate as she should there have died.

Her bodie thin, and bare as any bone,
 Where to was left nought but the case alone :

And that, alas ! was gnawne on every where
 All full of holes, that I ne mought refraine
 From teares to see how she her armes could teare,
 And with her teeth gnash on the bones in vaine,
 When all for nought she faine would so sustaine

Her starven corps, that rather seemed a shade
 Than any substance of a creature made.

Great was her force whom stone wall could not stay :
 Her tearing nailes, snatching at all she saw ;
 With gaping jawes that by no meanes ymay
 Be satisfied from hunger of her mawe,
 But eates herselfe, as she that hath no law :
 Gnawing alas ! her carcase all in vaine,
 Where you may count each sinew, bone, and vaine.

On her while we thus firmly fixt our eyes,
 That bled for ruth of such a driery sight,
 Loe suddenly she shrunk (*shrickt*) in so huge wise
 As made hell gates to shiver with the might.
 Wherewith a dart we saw how it did light
 Right on her brest, and, therewithall, pale Death
 Enthrilling it, to reave her of her breath.

And by and by a dumbe dead corps we saw,
 Heavie, and cold, the shape of death aright,
 That dants all earthly creatures to his law ;
 Against whose force in vaine it is to fight :
 Ne Peers, ne Princes, nor no mortall wight,
 No Towne, ne Realmes, Cities, ne strongest Tower,
 But all perforce must yeeld unto his power,

His dart anon out of the corps he tooke,
And in his hand, a dreadfull sight to see !
With triumph eftsoones the same he shooke,
That, most of all my feares, affrayed me :
His bodie dight with nought but bones, per die.
 The naked shape of man then saw I plaine,
 All, save the flesh, the sinow, and the vaine.

Lastly stood Warre ; in glittering arms yelad,
With visage grim, sterne looks, and blackely hewed.
In his right hand a naked sword he had,
That to the hilts was all with blood embrued ;
And in his left that Kings and Kingdomes rued,
 Famine and fire he held, and there withall
 He raced townes, and threw downe towers and all.

Cities he sackt, and Realmes that whilonie flowerd
In honour, glorie, and rule above the best
Ho overwhelmed, and all their fame devoured ;
Consumed, destroyed, wasted, and never ceast,
Till he their wealth, their name, and all, opprest.
 His face forechew'd with wounds, and by his side
 There hung his targ, with gashes deepe and wide.

In midst of which depainted there we found
Deadly Debate, all full of snakie heare,
That with a bloodie fillet was ybound,
Out breathing nought but discord every where :
And round about were portraid heere and thero
 The hugie hosts ; Darius, and his power ;
 His Kings, Princees, his Peeres, and all his flower.

This great man married Cicely, daughter of Sir John Baker, of Sissinghurst Castle in Kent, by whom he had three sons ; Robert, his successor ; William, who was knighted in France, in 1591, by Henry the Great, at the age of nineteen,

and fell in battle there two years after ; and Thomas, who was also distinguished as a military man : and three daughters ; Anne, wife of Sir Thomas Glemham, of Glemham in Suffolk ; Jane, married to Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague ; and Mary, to Sir Henry Neville, son and successor to Edward, Lord Abergavenny.





W. J. L. 12

SIR THOMAS BODLEY.

OP. 1612

SIR THOMAS BODLEY.

It is a proud reflection for the lovers of literature that the name of this eminent person should scarcely be known but as that of one of its most zealous cultivators ; that Europe should ring, as it ever will, with the fame of that prodigious treasure which it owes to his learning, his diligence, and his munificence ; and that it should be nearly forgotten, even in his own country, that he was any otherwise distinguished. Such is the triumph of immutable principle over fleeting habit ; of wisdom over cunning ; of the judgment over the passions. In our admiration of the retired collector of a library, we have ceased to remember that his counsels once guided the decisions of Sovereigns, and poised the fate of nations. Sir Thomas Bodley was a statesman of the first order, in merit, if not in place, and it will therefore be the object of these pages rather to recal to memory the circumstances of his political life, than to recapitulate minutely the history of that immortal foundation which is already so closely connected with his very name, that while we remember the one, we cannot forget the other.

He was descended from a respectable family, though of no great antiquity, in Devonshire, and was the eldest of the three sons of John Bodley, of Exeter, in which city he was born on the second of March, 1544, by Joan, daughter of Robert Hone, of Ottery St. Mary, in the same county. The persecution under Queen Mary compelled his father, who was a zealous reformer, to seek refuge in a foreign country ; and, after some wandering, he settled his family, about the year

1556, at Geneva, and in the University then newly established there his son Thomas commenced his education under teachers of the highest eminence. In some short notices of his life, written by himself, which, together with a few other matters relative to him, were published in 1703, in an octavo volume, now rather scarce, by the antiquary Thomas Hearne, under the title of "*Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*," he informs us that he was taught Hebrew by Chevalier, and Greek by Beroald and Constantine; and, in particular, that he studied divinity under Calvin and Beza. He returned to England immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, full of learning, and of affection for the Protestant persuasion, and became a student of Magdalen College, in Oxford, where, in 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and became probationer of Merton College, of which house in the ensuing year he was admitted fellow. In 1565 he read a Greek lecture in the hall of that college; in 1566, obtained the degree of Master of Arts, and read the lecture on natural philosophy in the Schools: and in 1569 was elected one of the Proctors, and undertook the office of University Orator, which he exercised for several years. He remained at Oxford till 1576, when he set out to visit the continent. Thus the first eighteen years of Bodley's manhood were purely academical, and hence that latent affection and gratitude to the university, conceived in the warmth of youth, and matured by the reflection of riper age, which burst forth with renewed vigour towards the conclusion of his life. That those sentiments were for a while suspended is evident from his own account: "In 1576," says he, "I waxed desirous to travel beyond the seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern tongues, and for the increase of my experience in the managing of affairs; being wholly then addicted to employ myself, and all my cares, in the service of the State." He passed nearly four years in a slow and inquisitive journey through France, Germany, and Italy, and returned to his college to connect and systematize his observations by reading the best authors on

History and Politics. In 1583 he was introduced, we know not by what means, at the Court, and was appointed a Gentleman Usher, or, according to Antony Wood, an Esquire of the Body, to Queen Elizabeth: he soon after married Anne, daughter of a Mr. Carey, of Bristol, and the rich widow, says the author just now mentioned, (for we have it only on his authority,) of some person of the name of Ball.

It was Elizabeth's habit to seek for political ability through all ranks of her servants, and to try their talents and their fidelity in minor embassies. Bodley attracted her notice, and she dispatched him in 1586 on a circular mission to Frederick King of Denmark, and to the German Princes of the Protestant persuasion, to urge them to aid her endeavours in favour of the French Huguenots, then headed by the great Henry King of Navarre. He acquitted himself in this employment so much to her satisfaction, that she appointed him, immediately after his return, to another, not only of a nature almost wholly different, but which required a far greater measure of dexterity and delicacy. Henry the Third of France, the declared patron of the Papal interest in his realm, had been driven from his capital by that memorable party led by the Duke of Guise, which had named itself the Holy League, and which, with the usual detestable affectation of faction, had professed to unite for his defence and protection in that character. To him was Bodley sent with such extreme caution and secrecy, that he was not permitted, as he informs us, to take with him even a single servant, nor any other letters than such as were written by the Queen's own hand. "The effect," says he, "of that message it is fit that I should conceal; but it tended greatly to the advantage of all the Protestants in France, and to the Duke's overthrow, which also followed soon upon it."

Elizabeth, having thus proved his worth, nominated him, in 1588, her resident minister at the Hague, a station then at the head of English diplomacy, the United Provinces being, from well-known historical circumstances, the theatre on

which the political combat between her and her great rival, Philip of Spain, might be fought with the best prospect of success. In order to preserve her ascendancy there, he was admitted, according to a stipulation insisted on by Elizabeth before his departure, a member of their Council of State, in the sittings of which he placed himself, by her order, next to Count Maurice of Nassau. He enjoyed in this mission her perfect confidence. "After the Queen," says he, "had had some experience of my conduct there, from that time forward I did never almost receive any set instructions how to govern my proceedings in her Majesty's occasions, but the carriage, in a manner, of all her affairs was left to me and my discretion." Of the zeal, as well as the wisdom, with which he managed those affairs, we have a noble instance in a letter in the Harleian Collection, (No. 278, p. 190,) hitherto unpublished, the great length of which obliges me, though with much reluctance, to content myself with giving a few extracts from it. It is indorsed by himself, "Project of a Letter which I proposed to send to the Emperor's Ambassadors; Nov. 1591," and affords perhaps the finest example extant of the frank and masculine spirit which then guided the policy of England, not to mention the very singular coincidence of the public circumstances to which it alludes with those of the present time.

"Having lately understood," he begins, "as well by those letters which yow have written to the States, and to your friendes in these contreis, as by divers other meanes of assured intelligence, that yow determine very shortly to addresse yourselves to the foresaide States, and in the name of the Emperor's Majestie to motion some agreement between them and the Spaniard, I have thought it very requisit, for discharge of my dewtie to my Sovereign Lady and Mistresse, the Queene's Majestie of England, who hath bin pleased to honour me with the place of her counsailor in this Counsaile of State, and for those principal respects which I beare, in all humilitie, to the Emperor's Majestie,

between whom and my Sovereigne all offices of amitie have bin alwaies intertened, to prevent your comming hither with such advice as this place, and my fonction, will afford." He proceeds to remind the Austrian Ambassadors that the States, ten months before, had addressed to the Emperor, and to other Princes of the Germanic body, their earnest protest against such mediation : and then informs them that in the articles between Elizabeth and the States, "it is a special point agreed that neither the general nor particular States of those provinces shall enter into treatie with the commonemie, the Spaniard, nor with any Prince or Potentat in his behalf, without the privitie or consent of the Queene's Majestie of England ;" and that such article, above all others, was recommended most precisely to the charge of all Elizabeth's ministers, military as well as civil, in the United States, and most effectually set down in their oaths. That the States themselves undoubtedly entertained the same opinion and resolution. "Nevertheles," adds he, "as if we knewe not that intention of the forsaide States, we are thus much of ourselves to signifie from hens : That unless yow come autorised to this treaty of peace with the allowance and warrant of the Queen our mistresse, we must, all in generall, and every one in particular, stand against yow, not only with good arguments of reason and persuasion, but with all the meanes that we can make, by any violence or force, to disturbe your attempts, and that without attending or expecting what the contrey shall resolve." After some apology for the sternness of this declaration, he proceeds to give his reasons why the States cannot hearken to any proposals for peace with Spain. "First, they say it is certaine, whatever is averred by others to the contrary, that the king of Spaine's disposition is wholly opposit to peace ; and this is proved apparently by a common observation which is in every man's discourse—that there is noe warre at this day in any part of Christendome but is directly or indirectly sturred and maintained by the king of Spaine. What example can be

plainer than his present partaking in the kingdome of France? Where, without a just reason, be pretext of just occasion, he endeavoureth to depose the right owner from his scepter, and all under coller of zeale and divotion to the Romishe religion. And, if that be all his cause, as his pretence is no other, would the Emperors Majestie have this people to imagine that the King of Spaine can be pleased to permitte unto them over whom he clameth a right, and absolut autoritie, the use of that religion for the extirpation whereof he poursueth a forraine Prince with all the actes of hostilitie that he can possibly practise? His purpose is too manifest: He mindes to make holyday with the States of these contreis till his maters in France succede to his minde, and then his hope is undoubtedlie that not onely these Provinces united, but England, and Scotland, and every part of Germany, or of any other contrey that is different from him in religion, or disjoined by faction, shall accept of such lawes as he, for his benefit, shall prescribe unto them."

Having stated much at large the repeated breaches of treaty, and the various deceptions practised by the King of Spain towards the United Provinces, he goes on—"But, besides the examples among themselves, they saw the other day in his dealing with England a most palpable patterne of Spanish falsehoode and deceate: For, even then, and at the same instant that his ministers were employed to persuade her Majestie to a peace, by proposing unto her verie plausible conditions, he armed a navy to the seas which, in his Lucifer's pride, he termed 'Invincible,' to make a conquest of her kingdome. But howe that wickednes was punished by the mightie hand of God it is knowen 'ere this to all the worlde, and it will be recorded to all posteritie. In effect," adds Bodley, after having cited other instances of treachery, "all his actions are directed by that most unchristian and barbarous maxime, that with an hereticke there is no faith to be observed; which infamous point of doctrine was most wickedly devised by the Pope, and Popish Princes, to serve

their worldly turnes ; distrusting, as it seemeth, the truth of their owne religion ; as if God were not able (their cause being just, as they are persuaded, and their party being greater by many multitudes of people,) to uphold their estate without the breache of common faith. But if this be so maintained against heretickes in general, what application will be made by the King, and his favourers, against the heretickes of this contrey which have taken armes against him, have renounced his religion, solemnly deposed him by way of abjuration, and delivered unto others the possession of his landes ? ” This very memorable letter concludes with the following expressions—“ Unless yow shewe for your coming the liking and permission of her Majestie, my Sovereigne, I must needes forewarne yow, as before, that as many of us as are heere of her Majestie’s subjects doe resolve to withstand yow, as perturbers of the amitie betweene her and the contrey ; and, in that respect, every man, in his charge, will accomplishe the duties of his faith and obedience by forcing yow from hens : and, though I speake in this sorte very plainely and roundly, being bounde thereto by mine othe and allegiance, yet I rest out of doubt that your singular wisdomes will expounde my meaning to the best ; and, being so well preadvertised of the strict alliance and contract between her Majestie and these contreis, will forbear upon it to goe forward with your voiage intended. But if it so fall out in truth, as in semblance is pretended, that the Kinge of Spaine, ether weried with his warres, or reduced to extremity, or finding in continuance that God doth not prosper his dissembled proceeding, shall be willing now at length to speake as he thinketh, and to stipulate a firme and a durable peace, there is no other meanes to effect his purpose but by causing the like proffers of peace as are made to these provinces to be presented in like sorte to her Majestie of England, to the King in France, and to as many other Princes as sitte complaining at the helme of the common cause, and runne in danger to be drowned in the bottomlesse

golph of the Spanish ambition. To this there is no doubt but the Kinge will condescend, if his minde and meaning be cleere and upright; and this is it which her Majesty, my Sovereigne, the States of these contreis, and every forraigne Potentat, will most willingly helpe forewarde with all the meanes of assistaunce that they can minister unto him."

In this important station Bodley remained for nine years, making some occasional visits to his Court, in one of which, in 1695, he highly offended Elizabeth by some proposals which he brought from the States relative to their debts to her. "I hear," says he, in one of his several letters to Mr. Anthony Bacon, preserved in Dr. Birch's Memoirs, "for my comfort, that the Queen, on Monday last, did at the Court wish I had been hanged." He returned, however, soon after to the Hague, from whence he was not finally recalled, and then at his own earnest request, till 1597. He never held any other public employment. It was his misfortune, according to his own account, to be equally regarded both by Burghley and Essex, each of whom had frequently recommended him with much earnestness to Elizabeth, for the place of Secretary of State, his appointment to which, through jealousy, was always thwarted by the other. Perhaps Elizabeth's dread of strengthening the party of Essex, who certainly was his warmest friend, was yet a stronger impediment. Be this as it may, he determined to retire from public life, and though frequently solicited by her, and by her successor, to accept of high and important offices in the State, abided by his resolution.

He had undoubtedly long entertained the noble design of restoring, or rather founding, the public library at Oxford, for he had scarcely found himself at home when he began to collect books for it with such zeal and avidity, that, even before the end of that year, he had amassed a great treasure of general literature, and had formally communicated his intention to the University. Sensible, however, that the life, as well as the wealth, of any individual must fall far

short of the accomplishment of the plan he had laid, he spared no pains in invoking the aid of the rich and the learned, and obtained vast contributions in money as well as in books. Many amusing instances of his anxieties, his doubts, his disappointments, and even his jealousies, with regard to these benefactions, may be found in *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, in a long series of his letters to Dr. William James, who was his chief agent in the collection, and the first person who had the office of keeper of the library after its final establishment. We meet in one of them with a curious proof of blameable vanity. Bodley was solicitous to conceal the assistance which he received from others, and thus betrays that disposition which he awkwardly labours to dissemble—"I am utterly against it that there should be any mention of their names and gifts that are the chiefest contributors to the library, for that few in that case would be willingly omitted, and the gift of the greatest is hardly worth publishing as a matter of much moment: besides that the number increaseth continually; and, as I am persuaded, when those that are to come after shall see no likelihood of occasion to be honoured, as the former, by some public monument, it may slacken their devotion. And, as for myself, I am wholly uncertain how far I shall proceed in my expense about that work, having hitherto made no determinate design, but purposing to do as my ability shall afford, which may increase or diminish, and as God shall spare my life, although unto myself I do resolve in a general project to do more than I am willing to publish to the world. It may suffice, in my conceit, if the party employed in the answer to Weston shall but signify, in general, to what forwardness that work of so great a public benefit is already brought by my means, in special, and then by the aid of such of my honourable friends, and others, as in affection to me, and for the advancement of learning, have been moved to set their helping hand to it; so as in time it is like, and perhaps very shortly, to be a most admirable ornament as well of the state

as of the University ; to the effecting whereof though so many men concur, yet the plotting and ordering of all things, and the bulk of all the burthen, for matter of cost, and otherwise, both hath and will be mine ; wherein, as I will not assume the deserts to myself of other men's bounties, so I would not that mine own, in a public memorial, should be lessened."

Even before the end of the year 1599, the Bodleian Library had become, with the exception of the Vatican, perhaps the first public collection in Europe, and very soon after stood wholly unrivalled. James I., who really loved literature, gave a warrant under the Privy-seal to the founder for such books as he might choose to take from any of the Royal libraries, and the fashion set by the Monarch was eagerly followed by his courtiers. The simple line of building which had formerly contained Duke Humphrey's Library, and which had already been repaired by Bodley, having been long insufficient to admit even a fourth part of his collection, he proposed to the University to convert it, at his own charge, into that noble quadrangle in which it now remains. The first stone of the new building was laid, with great formalities, on the nineteenth of July, 1610, but the founder did not live to see it completed. He had not neglected however to provide for it by his will, by which also he settled two hundred pounds annually on the library for ever, having previously composed, with great care and judgment, a large body of statutes for its government, the original of which, in his own handwriting, is preserved there, and has been long published, annexed to the Statutes of the University and otherwise.

Sir Thomas Bodley, for he had been knighted by King James the First, on that Prince's accession, died, without issue, on the twenty-eighth of January, 1612, and lies buried at the head of the choir of Merton College Chapel, under a superb monument executed in the best taste of the time.

ROBERT CECIL,

EARL OF SALISBURY.

IF the father of this great man, the celebrated Lord Burghley, had never been a minister, the son might probably, and very justly, have been esteemed the most consummate statesman in Europe of his time. Their qualities however differed materially: the father was the wiser man: he loved to act alone, and the greatest measures of his administration may in most instances be traced to the decisions of his own intellect. A principle of moral right, seldom to be found in any who preceded or followed him, was always more or less discernible in them; and a simplicity of character which remarkably adorned his private life, was generally evident also in his ministerial conduct. In his progress to a very exalted eminence he had few competitors, and his long possession of it excited little jealousy, because the public interest was, or seemed to be, the invariable object of his labours; for envy is seldom provoked but by those who are evidently actuated by the selfish passions. The son was more adroit, not to say cunning. He was the first statesman in this country who practised, with the air of a system, the policy of governing by the opposition and balance of parties. His own hand was seldom to be discovered in his measures, and those by whom they were accomplished were rarely conscious of having been his instruments. He was charged, perhaps often unjustly, with duplicity, and with angry and revengeful partialities: nor was he wholly unsuspected of

sharing in the gross venality to which most public ministers of all ranks were tempted by the absurd carelessness and profuseness of the monarch in whose reign he chiefly flourished. Salisbury was pliant, and served Elizabeth with as high a degree of favour as his father; but the wisdom and stern integrity of Burghley would have disqualified him for the place of High Treasurer to a Prince of James's character.

Robert Cecil was the only son of that exemplary minister by his second wife, Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Gidea Hall in Essex. Of the date of his birth we have the most discordant accounts, but it seems to have occurred about the year 1560. He received the education usual to persons of his rank at home, and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge, and, though he was in fact bred from his very childhood for the Court and the State, became amply accomplished in every branch of polite literature. His constitution was weak and sickly, insomuch that his person became deformed, and it was long before he was able to bear the fatigue of any unusual bodily exertion; but in 1584 he ventured to attach himself to the splendid embassy of Henry Earl of Derby to the Court of Paris, and in 1588 had so far mastered his infirmities as to join the number of young nobility who were witnesses to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Several years however yet passed before he was specifically appointed to any post in the government, during which he was receiving from his father that last instruction in state affairs which can be derived only from a participation in the management of them. The most advantageous opportunity for this was offered by the death of Walsingham, in 1590, and Burghley instantly seized it. He persuaded Elizabeth, on what grounds is now unknown, to keep the office of Principal Secretary nominally vacant, and for the six succeeding years transacted the business of it himself, with the assistance of his son, who in the summer of 1596 was at length formally appointed to it. From this promotion originated the lasting enmity between Cecil and Essex, who had proposed to the Queen first

Davison, and then Bodley, for the Secretaryship, and had on those occasions, says Camden, before whose report the tales of such writers as Welden and Osborne sink into contempt, "with so much bitterness, and so little reason, disparaged Cecil," that she would not listen to Essex's recommendation, even insomuch as to permit either of the objects of his choice to act as coadjutor to Cecil in the office.

In 1597 Elizabeth conferred on him the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and about the same time gave him the custody of the Privy Seal ; and in the following year he was the chief commissioner on the part of England in the negotiation for a peace between the Crowns of France and Spain which is known by the name of the treaty of Vervins. Before his departure, such was his opinion of the honour of his generous adversary, he is said to have earnestly sought, and at length to have obtained, from Essex a promise not to injure him during his absence by promoting any of his enemies. He succeeded his father, who died in the autumn of that year, in the post of Master of the Wards ; and in his office of secretary exercised in fact that of prime minister for the remaining five years of the Queen's life, with as full a share of her favour and confidence as she had at any time bestowed on his illustrious natural and political predecessor. He had indeed many of his father's qualifications to recommend him, and some, as has been already observed, which that great statesmen never possessed. No one among her ministers but himself could have supplied the loss of Walsingham, who furnished her with the means of controlling foreign powers through intelligence gained in their own courts. Cecil even rivalled him in this dark faculty ; and Elizabeth, in whom we find the worst meannesses of the feminine character united to an extravagance in the factitious splendour of royalty, valued him accordingly.

His memory has been highly censured for his having held a secret correspondence with the King of Scots for some of the last years of her life ; and apparently without any just cause,

for it has never been insinuated that he betrayed her confidence to that Prince. Those who have blamed him on this score forget that the reciprocal relations of monarch and minister cannot be expected to involve that delicacy of personal regard which belongs to the affections of private life, and is even there not frequently to be found. Cecil, a minister by trade, sought to ensure the favour of the successor to the throne, and he did it fairly and honestly. It has been said that his efforts to that end were powerfully seconded by Hume, Earl of Dunbar, perhaps the most creditable of James's Scottish ministers ; and an incredible tale is told by a pamphleteer of that day of his meeting that nobleman privately at York, immediately after the Queen's decease, to negotiate for his good offices. James's motives for accepting and retaining Cecil in his station of prime minister are obvious. His services were indispensably necessary, for the Council of Elizabeth contained not an individual qualified to supply his place. The King was arbitrary and idle ; sudden, extravagant, and versatile, in the choice of his private familiars ; and more ambitious of the character of an able polemic, and an acute theoretical politician, than of a powerful Prince : Cecil was subservient and vigilant ; too wise and too proud to entertain a jealousy of mere favourites ; and willingly encouraged James to waste in reveries the time which would otherwise have been employed in interfering with his minister's measures.

It is needless to say that he was continued in the office of Secretary. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth he had possessed no higher title than that of a Knight Bachelor, but James now amply compensated him for the omission ; for on the thirteenth of May, 1603, he was created Baron Cecil, of Essendon, in the county of Rutland ; on the twentieth of August in the following year, Viscount Cranborne ; on the fourth of May, 1605, Earl of Salisbury ; and on the twentieth of the same month was installed a Knight of the Garter. He was about that time elected Chancellor of the University of

Cambridge ; and on the death of Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset, in April 1608, was appointed on the fourth of the following month to succeed him in the great office of Lord Treasurer. With that nobleman Cecil had long lived in the strictest friendship ; and we have the good fortune to possess a character of him, drawn by Dorset's exquisite pen, which leaves no room to doubt of the exaggerations of calumny with which his memory has been loaded. The solemn nature of the document in which it is to be found, and the admirable universality of talent and judgment, as well as the perfect integrity and honour, of the writer, unite to give it every claim to credit ; and as Dorset's name has thus occurred, it may as well be inserted in this place.

In his last will he bequeaths to Cecil several jewels of great value, not only as tokens of a most earnest personal affection, which he declares at considerable length, and with the utmost warmth of expression, "but also, and most chiefly," to use the words of the testator, "even in regard of his public merit, both towards his Majesty and this Commonwealth : wherein," continues he, "when I behold the heavy weight of so many grave and great affairs which the special duty of his place as principal Secretary doth daily and necessarily cast upon him ; and do note withal what infinite cares, crosses, labours and travels of body and mind, he doth thereby continually sustain and undergo ; and, lastly, do see with how great dexterity, sincerity, and judgment, he doth accomplish and perform the painful service of that place ; these divine virtues of his, so incessantly exercised and employed for the good of the public, I must confess have made me long since so greatly to love, honour, and esteem him, and so firmly and faithfully fixed my heart unto him, as I do dailie and heartily pray unto Almighty God to continue all strength and ability both of body and mind in him, that he sink not under the weight of so heavy a burthen." After fervently praying at some extent for a continuance of the blessings of Providence on his ministry, Dorset concludes—"Thus I have

faithfully set down in some sort the noble parts of this honourable Earl, who, besides such his worthiness and sufficiency for the public service both of his sovereign and country, is also framed of so sweet a nature, so full of mildness, courtesy, honest mirth, bounty, kindness, gratitude, and discourse, so easily reconciled to his foe, and evermore so true unto his friend, as I may justly say that it were one of the chiefest felicities that in this world we can possess, to live, converse, and spend our whole life in mutual love and friendship, with such a one ; of whose excelling virtues, and sweet conditions, so well known to me, in respect of our long communication by so many years in most true love and friendship together, I am desirous to leave some faithful remembrance in this my last Will and Testament ; that since the living speech of my tongue when I am gone from hence must then cease and speak no more, that yet the living speech of my pen, which never dieth, may herein thus for ever truly testify and declare the same."

Cecil's political character, as given by Lord Dorset, is fully justified by the clearest historical evidence. His application to the duties of his several offices was almost incessant, and no object, however minute, which they involved escaped his attention. It appears from an extensive collection of his original papers, which were once my property, that he had not only informed himself, with a correctness which without such proof would have been altogether incredible, of the precise number of acres—of the several buildings and their state of repair—of the woods, and of the timber proper to be felled—comprised in all the estates of the crown ; but that he had applied his mind distinctly to the consideration of every subdivision of each of those several branches of the subject, and had written innumerable notes on them with his own hand, frequently at great length. So too, in his place of Master of the Wards, he wrote himself at the foot of each petition for wardship, even from the meanest persons, his answer, the mode of which always proved that he had

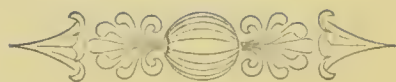
carefully considered the merits of each case. It has been said that he procured from James large grants of lands, and made exchanges of estates with that Prince unreasonably to his own advantage. If it were so, he did but imitate the practice of all ministers of that age, and of many which preceded it ; but, on the other hand, he was perhaps the only minister or courtier of that reign who stood even unsuspected of foreign corruption. He has been charged too with abject submission to the will of his master : it is true that he interfered not with the foibles of the man ; but he discouraged, sometimes by argument, sometimes by artifice, the prodigality of the monarch ; and opposed, vigorously and openly, the Spanish interest, to which James is well known to have been strongly inclined. On the whole, it is surprising that a Prince so careless and so profuse should have had a servant so honest ; and under the impression of that candid and impartial opinion some writer of later days has said that "Cecil was the first bad Treasurer, and the last good one since the reign of Elizabeth."

Of Lord Dorset's report of him as a private man, valuable as it is, for no one else has portrayed him in that character, little need be said, because few parts of it have been contradicted. His enmity to Essex, and afterwards to Raleigh, have been frequent themes of historical censure, but neither his motives nor his conduct regarding those unfortunate great men have ever been even slightly examined. His original offence to the former has been already here mentioned, and he aggravated it by opposing the promotion of Bacon to the office of Attorney-General. Essex, the slave of passion, vilified him openly, and the cool prudence with which Cecil endured his attacks was called hypocrisy. The Earl suddenly embraced and headed an imbecile faction to drive Cecil from the ministry : the statesman defended himself, and thwarted his adversary by counteracting his schemes for military glory. To us, who live in the age of party, this will seem but fair collision. When Essex was taken in

open rebellion his powerful adversary appears to have made no efforts to forward the impending blow, but he is said to have witnessed the infliction of it, and hence the general impression of his hatred to the unhappy favourite. Some traces of the high generosity as well as of the cruelty of incivilisation were to be yet discerned in that time, and Cecil, if he were a spectator of the death of Essex, prevailed on Elizabeth to spare the life of Southampton, that nobleman's dearest friend, and not less his own enemy. Of the causes of his quarrel with Raleigh, less is known. They had been united against Essex, and disagreed after his overthrow. It is natural to suppose that their ill offices towards each other were mutual; but we have few particulars of the activity of Cecil's resentment, whose station indeed afforded him opportunities of dealing out his vengeance unseen: Raleigh, however, is known to have presented a memorial to James on his arrival in England, full of bitter reflections on Cecil, charging him with the ruin of Essex, and his father with the death of the Queen of Scots. Forgiveness, or even forbearance, could scarcely be reasonably expected from the infirmity of nature after such an injury.

To endeavour in a work of this nature to digress from these slight notices of this great man's character, into even the most contracted epitome of the history of his ministry, would be idle. To conclude, then, it may be truly said that he sacrificed his life to the public service. His constitution, naturally weak and delicate, had been so fortified by medical care and temperance, that at the time of the death of Elizabeth he seemed to bid fair for long life. Her system, clear, decisive, and regular, suited the character of his mind, and had become engrafted on his habits; but the care and anxiety attendant on the superintendence of an uncertain policy, and an impoverished revenue, gradually undermined his re-established health. In 1611 he showed manifest signs of decay, and at length fell into a pulmonary consumption, in the last stage of which he was advised to use the waters of

Bath, and, after a few weeks' ineffectual trial of them, died, on his return from thence, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1612, at Marlborough, and was buried in the parish church of his princely seat of Hatfield in Herts. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Brook, Lord Cobham, by whom he had one son, William, his successor, lineal ancestor of the present Marquis of Salisbury, and one daughter, Frances, wife of Henry Clifford, fifth Earl of Cumberland.





Myten. yx

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.

OB. 1612.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

AN attempt was made some years since to write at large the life of this admirable youth in the usual strain of regular biography, but it proved wholly ineffectual. Dr. Birch, with that indefatigable assiduity and accuracy by which he was distinguished, drew together from all authentic sources that he could discover, perhaps every letter extant which the Prince had ever received ; every dedication which had ever been addressed to him ; every public instrument regarding his government, his establishment, and his revenue ; together with long original narratives of the tiltings and dancings in which he had taken a part, and of the entertainments which had been provided for him in his several visits and progresses. All this is useless. The life of Prince Henry was a life of prospects, and not of events ; the story of a manly childhood, and a wise puberty, subjected to the customary restraints of youth, and debarred by authority from rising into public action : it is therefore chiefly in those detached sallies of character which vainly promised a splendid future fame that we are to seek for his circumscribed history. Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer of his Household, was sensible of this, and has treated his subject accordingly, in a very small but interesting piece, entitled, “The Life and Death of our late most incomparable and heroique Prince, Henry Prince of Wales ;” which Birch, in his passion for biographical mechanism, has ventured, in the preface to his own work, to call “a mere pamphlet, extremely superficial, and unsatisfactory on almost every head.”

Henry was born in Stirling Castle, in Scotland, on the nineteenth of February, 1594. The care of his person, and of his early education, was almost immediately committed to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, and the Dowager Countess, his mother, who is said to have been a singularly ill-tempered woman, and from them he was removed, at the age of six years, to the custody of Adam Newton, a very learned Scotsman, on whom James, after his accession to the throne of England, conferred the title of Baronet, and, though a layman, the Deanery of Durham. It was at this very early period of his life that his father printed his "Basilicon Doron, or his Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son, Henry the Prince," confining the impression to seven copies, and swearing the printer to secrecy; a work which, in the vanity of his heart, he afterwards published to the whole world, under the pretence of correcting erroneous transcripts which he alleged had got abroad, in spite of all his caution. Thus trained, in a half civilised country and court, incessantly under the control and direction of a pedantic and narrow-minded father, and of a mother lately imported from a land actually barbarous, little might reasonably have been expected from a pupil so situated. A mighty character, however, of nature overcame all these disadvantages. Henry, even from his cradle, gave infallible proofs of the best and greatest qualities. His courage, perhaps the first virtue clearly discernible in infancy, was most undaunted. It is recorded of him, that when he happened to hurt himself, even severely, in the eagerness of his infantine sports, he cried not, but concealed and denied the injury. This disposition soon took a military turn. Looking at a chase which he was too young to be allowed to follow, one of his attendants asked him whether he should like that sport. He answered, "Yes, but I should better like another kind of hunting; the hunting of thieves and rebels, with brave men and horses."

La Boderie, ambassador from Henry the Fourth of France

to James, in a letter to the French Minister, of the 31st of October, 1606, writes thus of him: "None of his pleasures savour in the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses, and of what belongs to them, but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping than that which the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at tennis, and at another Scottish diversion very like mall; but always with persons older than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies for two hours every day, and employs the rest in tossing the pike, leaping, shooting with the bow, throwing the bar, vaulting, or some other such exercise, and is never idle. He is very kind and faithful to his dependents; supports their interests against all persons whatsoever; and pushes his endeavours for them, or others, with a zeal which seldom fails of success. He is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and especially by the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly apprehensive of the Prince's ascendancy: while the Prince, on the other hand, shews very little esteem for his Lordship." The testimony of this foreigner deserves implicit credit, and, be it remembered, that he is speaking of a child just thirteen years old.

As his reason unfolded itself, all the milder virtues gradually shone forth in him. Such was his entire love of sincerity, that he could not endure even the innocent and usual fallacies of polite intercourse. Sir Charles Cornwallis informs us, that having laid before him, for his signature, a letter to a nobleman of whom he had no good opinion, which ended with some common-place expressions of favour, the Prince commanded him to make another copy, the concluding words of which he himself dictated, saying that his hand should never affirm what his heart did not think. "He was so exact" (says an anonymous Harleian MS. addressed to the Lord and Lady Lumley, and entitled "A Relation of Prince Henry's noble and virtuous Disposition, and of sundry his witty and pleasant Speeches") "in all the duties of filial

piety, and bore so true a reverence and respect to the King, his father, that, though sometimes he moved his Majesty in some things relating to the public, or his own particular interests, or those of others, yet on the least word, or look, or sign, given him of his Majesty's disapprobation, he would instantly desist from pursuing the point ; and return, either with satisfaction, upon finding it disagreeable to the King, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor action, gave any appearance of being displeased or discontented." He was strictly pious, and most exact in the exercise of his public and private devotions, and had such an aversion to the profanation of the name of God that he was never heard to use it but devoutly : indeed he abhorred swearing, which, probably because the King himself was much addicted to it, was the fashion of his time. It happened one day when he was hunting that the stag crossed a road in which a butcher and his dog were passing : the dog fell on the stag, and killed it, and the Prince's attendants endeavouring to incense him against the man, he answered, "If the dog killed the stag, could the butcher help it ?" One of them hereupon took the liberty to say that if the King's hunting had been interrupted by such an accident he would have sworn terribly. "Nay," said the Prince, "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath."

Cornwallis informs us that he loved and practised justice with the utmost strictness. He manifested this disposition particularly in the government of his own family, which consisted of nearly five hundred of all ranks, in which it is said that a blow was never given, nor a quarrel carried to any height. "Whatever abuses," says that gentleman, "were represented to him he immediately redressed, to the entire satisfaction of the parties aggrieved. In his removal from one of his houses to another, and in his attendance on the King, on the same occasions, or in progresses, he would suffer no provisions or carriages to be taken up for his use, without full contentment given to the parties ; and he was

so solicitous to prevent any person from being prejudiced or annoyed by himself, or any of his train, that whenever he went out to hunt or hawk before harvest was ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn, and to set them an example, would himself ride rather a furlong about."

These admirable moral dispositions ornamented an excellent understanding, and governed a temper naturally very haughty. Never failing in any of the duties of the mere man, Henry, in all he thought, or said, or did, seemed to have constantly in his view the great inheritance which his birth had fallaciously promised to him. His household was a little monarchy, which he ruled with equal power, policy, and benignity. He was master, theoretically, of the art of war, and may indeed be said in some measure to have practised it, for he used the frequent military exercises, for his adroitness in which he was so highly distinguished, in order to qualify himself for the field. Cornwallis informs us that "he performed them with so much dexterity and skill, that he became second to no Prince in Christendom, and superior to most of those persons who practised with him ;" and adds that, "he sometimes walked fast and far, to enable himself to make long marches, when they should be required." He was critically versed in all that related to the navy, even to the most minute circumstances of ship-building, and no one was more highly favoured by him than Phineas Pett, a man who had applied to the study and practice of naval architecture talents which would have rendered him eminent in any other to which he might have directed them. "He loved and did mightily strive," says Cornwallis, "to do somewhat of everything, and to excel in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and in all kind of engines belonging to the wars both at land and sea ; in shooting and levelling great pieces of ordnance ; in the ordering and marshalling of armies ; in building and gardening ; in all sorts of rare music, chiefly the trumpet and drum ; sculpture, limning, and carving ; and in all sorts of excellent

and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries." The same author, and we cannot have a better authority, tells us that "he was extremely courteous and affable to strangers, and easily gained their affections upon a very short acquaintance," but that "he had a certain height of mind, and knew well how to keep his distance; which indeed he did to all, admitting no near approach, either to his power or his secrets."

His fault indeed, and perhaps his only fault, seems to have been a degree of reserve so strict and constant, that it could not but have been the result of a temper naturally cold and distrustful. At a time of life usually marked by the sweet errors of over confidence, and extravagant affections, Henry appears but uncertainly in the character either of friend or lover. In the long list of his companions and attendants, Sir John Harington, son, and for a short time successor, to the first Lord Harington of Exton, a young man of great attainments and the most amiable qualities, seems alone to have enjoyed his intimacy. Among the very few private letters written by the Prince which have been preserved, is one to this gentleman, on some subjects of classical criticism, full of sprightliness and ingenuity, but without a single expression of kindness. Still less proof have we of his sacrifices to the tender passion. Cornwallis tells us, in terms which sound oddly enough in our day, that, "having been present at great feasts made in the Prince's house, to which he invited the most beautiful of the ladies of the Court and City, he could not discover by his Highness's behaviour, eyes, or countenance, the least appearance of a particular inclination to any of them, nor was he at any time witness of such words or actions as could justly be a ground of the least suspicion of his virtue." Some historical pamphleteers, on the other hand, insist that he had a successful intrigue with the beautiful and wicked Countess of Essex, to which they ascribe strange consequences, which will presently be mentioned; but this, if true, was but a solitary amour.

He had certainly formed for himself a line of political conduct which, according to the unhappy fatality, for so it seems, in such cases, was directly opposite to that of his father. His high spirit, and the activity of his nature, had irresistibly inspired him with a warlike inclination; and the strictness of his moral and religious habits and exercises, together with an utter aversion to the Romish church, rendered him the idol of the puritans, to whom, on his part, he gave many indirect proofs of favour. "He was saluted by them," says the severe but sagacious Osborne, "as one prefigured in the Apocalypse for Rome's destruction." He seems to have been determined never to marry a Roman Catholic. James, in 1611, had proposed to him the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and Raleigh, then a prisoner in the Tower, whom the King feared, and therefore hated, and of whom Henry had said that no one but his father would "keep such a bird in a cage," wrote, doubtless with the Prince's approbation, since they were dedicated to him, two admirable invectives against the match. A princess of Spain was afterwards offered to him; and in the spring of 1612 a negotiation was commenced for his marriage to a sister of Louis the Thirteenth of France, which subsisted even at the time of his death, of the probable termination of which we may judge from his own declaration in his last hours, that he believed the Almighty had visited him with his grievous distemper to punish him for having listened to overtures of marriage with Roman Catholics. His discretion, his temperance, his economy, and the severity, as it may be called, of his manners, operated with the effect of satire and reproach on the contrary dispositions in the King, who by degrees became jealous of him, and in the end probably considered him as a formidable rival. Indeed James must have possessed supernatural philosophy to have endured the extent of his son's popularity. "The palpable partiality," says Osborne again, "that descended from the father to the Scots did estate the whole love of the English upon his son Henry, whom they engaged by so much expectation, as it may

be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince, merely human, to bring so much felicity into a nation as they did all his life propose to themselves at the death of King James."

These extravagant hopes were suddenly blasted in the autumn of 1612. He was then in his nineteenth year. Some change appeared to have taken place in his constitution a few months before: he grew pale and thin, and more serious than usual; had heavy pains in his head, and occasional fainting fits; and generally received a temporary relief from sudden bleedings at the nose, which of late had been wholly suspended, owing, as it was thought, to his imprudent practice of too frequent swimming in the Thames when at his palace at Richmond. In August, and when the weather was uncommonly hot, he rode post in two days to Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rutland, to meet the king on his progress, and returned suddenly from the fatiguing ceremonies of that visit to prepare a great feast for the court on his taking possession of the royal house of Woodstock, which his father had lately assigned to him. These violent exertions produced an aggravated attack of his indisposition, which caused at length what his medical attendants conceived to be a fit of ague, but what was in fact the commencement of a fever of the most furious character. His numerous physicians, according to the error of that time, plied him for six days with what they called cordial restoratives, and vehemently increased the malignity of his disease. One only, and his name shall be recorded, Sir Theodore Mayerne, urged the necessity of bleeding, but he was obstinately opposed by the rest of the troop. Two days were suffered to pass before they could be brought to consent, and even then it was deferred till the next morning, though nature had, previously to Mayerne's suggestion, given them the signal for his cure, by one of those sudden discharges of blood from the nose to which he had been accustomed, and which produced an immediate temporary relief. At length only seven or eight

ounces were permitted to be drawn, the miserable sufferer, says Cornwallis, "desiring and calling upon them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant." "This day, after bleeding," adds Sir Charles, "the Prince found great ease, inso-much as since the beginning of his sickness he had not found himself so well ; his pulse inclining towards a more gentle motion ; missing his former cruel doublings ; and his former accidents being less, and more mild : " yet, incredible to tell, the bleeding was never repeated. Delirium and agonizing convulsions soon followed. Still, such was the strength of his constitution, that he lived for some days, displaying in his intervals of reason the most beautiful and affecting example of patience and fortitude. He died on Friday, the sixth of November, 1612, notwithstanding that the sages, as Cornwallis informs us, "had lately applied to the soles of his feet a cock cloven by the back, and had redoubled their cordials in number and quantity." A most exact and lengthened journal of his illness, and of the means resorted to for his cure, may be found in that gentleman's narrative, exhibiting perhaps the most extraordinary and frightful instances extant of medical presumption and imbecility. Rumours were spread that he died by poison, and Carre, Viscount Rochester, then the guilty suitor, and afterwards the more guilty husband, of the Countess of Essex, was for a time suspected as the murderer ; but they obtained little credit, and certainly deserved none.

Sir Charles Cornwallis concludes his little book with the following sketch of the person of this extraordinary young man. "He was of a comely tall middle stature, about five feet and eight inches high ; of a strong, strait, well made body, as if Nature in him had showed all her cunning ; with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste ; of an amiable majestic countenance ; his hair of an auborn colour ; long faced, and broad forehead ; a piercing grave eye ; a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown."





HENRY HOWARD,

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON

OB. 1614.

HENRY HOWARD,

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

THE circumstances of this nobleman's life have been made the subjects of discussion more minute than impartial, and of animadversion more severe than just. While his talents and acquirements ornamented the name even of Howard, his conduct perhaps threw some shades on its almost unvaried purity. He was one of the very few of that family who ever condescended to practise the littlenesses of the statesman or courtier, and he has been, if the expression may be allowed, posthumously punished for so forgetting himself; but, as praise or blame, especially the latter, generally outrun the merits which respectively call them forth, his character seems to have been devoted to much undeserved censure.

He was the second son of that prodigy of worth, and talent, and gallantry, Henry, Earl of Surrey, by Frances, third daughter of John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford. He was born at Shottisham, in Norfolk, in 1539, and was yet an infant when his family was overwhelmed by that persecution of it which terminated the enormities of the reign of Henry the Eighth. As he grew towards manhood, he found himself a younger son, standing alone in the world. His admirable father had been snatched from him by an unjust sentence, and an ignominious execution. His grandfather, Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, had barely outlived the proscription of his House; and his only brother, the youthful heir to mutilated estates just released from an attainder, was waiting the very uncertain decision of Elizabeth's caprice as

to the future fortunes of his family. Cramped and chilled by these untoward circumstances, and avoiding with difficulty the gripe of poverty, Lord Henry Howard became selfish and misanthropic, and suffered his vigorous and sober understanding to degenerate into a mysterious cunning which became habitual, and seems to have influenced his conduct through the whole of a long life.

He received his education first at King's College, and afterwards at Trinity Hall, in Cambridge ; and left that university, says Bishop Godwin, with so high a character for erudition, that he was commonly called " the learnedst among the nobility, and the noblest among the learned." Having passed some years in foreign travel, he returned to work his way as well as he could in the most jealous and capricious court then in Europe. Neither his merits nor his misfortunes obtained any consideration from Elizabeth beyond his restoration in blood in her first year ; nor was it till towards the conclusion of her long reign that he obtained from her a degree of favour which consisted merely in the empty graces of royal civility, and that he seems to have owed to the influence of Essex, with whom he lived in a strict intimacy. Her distaste to him, however, was not altogether unreasonable, for he was all but a declared Papist, and had been strongly suspected of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots ; that cause for which his elder brother bled on the scaffold.

He was amply compensated by her successor. He had been deeply engaged in the negotiations with that Prince which were carried on by Sir Robert Cecil, with not less activity than secrecy, in the concluding years of Elizabeth's life, and experienced an uncommon share of his gratitude. James, on his accession, summoned him to the Privy Council ; on the first of January, in the succeeding year, made him Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle ; and on the thirteenth of August following advanced him to the dignities of Baron Howard, of Marnhill, and Earl of Northampton. He was soon after constituted one of the

Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal ; was installed a Knight of the Garter on the twenty-fourth of February, 1605 ; and on the twenty-ninth of April, 1608, appointed Lord Privy Seal. He was also Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and High Steward of Oxford. His conduct in his several public offices stands unimpeached, but his private intercourse with the great men of his time has been charged with treachery. He is said to have alternately played off, as the phrase is, Essex and the two Cecils against each other. Certain it is that letters remain from him to those several parties full of the high-toned and hyperbolical expressions of regard which rendered ridiculous the epistolary correspondence of the great in that time, and which he bestowed on all the three in an equal measure. If flattery of that sort can be deemed treachery, he was treacherous indeed ; but if it cannot, he must be held guiltless of the charge till stronger evidence can be produced : at present we know of none.

His memory has been defamed too by an accusation of a far deeper cast, which seems not better proved than the former. He had the misfortune to be great-uncle to Frances, Countess of Essex, the frightful circumstances of whose divorce from her Lord, and subsequent marriage to Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, have been so largely detailed by the historians and memoir-writers of that time. Whether to salve what might have remained of the Countess's reputation, or to court the good graces of Somerset, the new favourite, it is impossible to say, but he certainly made himself a busy instrument in forwarding the match. Possessed of that fact, a late noble writer who had a remarkable talent for defaming the characters of the illustrious dead with the greatest imaginable neatness and politeness, determined to load it with all the mischief of historical conjecture, and, on the authority of two letters in Winwood's Memorials, roundly accuses Lord Northampton of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was said to have been poisoned in the Tower,

through the vindictive intrigues of the Earl and Countess of Somerset.

The letters in question were copied by the editor of Winwood from the originals in the Cotton Collection, now in the British Museum, where they may be found in the volume marked "Titus B 4, page 479," &c. They were written by the Earl to Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, immediately after Overbury's death in his custody there. In the first of them (that is to say in that which stands first in the book, for they are not dated), the Earl, by Lord Rochester's (afterwards Somerset) request, desires that "the body may be delivered to any friend of the deceased who may wish to do him honour at his funeral;" and then expresses a doubt whether it may not have been already buried, "on account of its unsweetness, the deceased having been afflicted with some issues." In a postscript he desires the Lieutenant to inform himself whether "this grace had been afforded formerly to close prisoners." This letter has a remarkable indorsement in the hand-writing of the Lieutenant, stating that on Overbury's death he had written to the Earl to know what he should do with the corpse, "acquainting his Lordship with his issues, and other foulness of his body;" and that the Earl, in answer, had desired him to have it viewed by a jury; and that he would "send for Sir John Lidcote, and as many else of his friends to see it as would." Elwes adds, "the body was very noisome, so that, notwithstanding my Lord's direction, I kept it over long, as we all felt."

In the second letter, to which the indorsement just now cited seems to refer, the Earl earnestly desires that the body may be buried with as little delay as possible, "for," says he, "it is time, considering the humours of the damned crew that only desire means to move pity, and raise scandals." In this letter, however, which is very short, he directs, four several times, that the body should be viewed by the friends of the deceased, previously to its interment.

It would have been but honest in the editor of Winwood to

have noticed a third letter, in the same volume, written before Overbury's death, which could scarcely have been overlooked by any one who inspected the originals. Had he inserted it, however, it would have deprived him of the opportunity of uttering the malignant hint which we find attached to the others, in one of the very few notes which are scattered on the pages of his collection ; and, by omitting it, he has misled the opinions of Lord Orford, and of Sir Egerton Brydges, the candour and accuracy of whose pen are even equal to its elegance. In that third letter, the Earl informs Sir Gervase Elwes that, "in compliance with old Mr. Overbury's petition, it is the King's pleasure that Mr. Doctor Cragg, this bearer, shall presently be admitted to Sir Thomas Overbury, that, during the time of his infirmity, he may take care of him, and as often as in his judgment to this end he shall find reason."

Surely these letters, instead of tending to criminate the Earl, exonerate him : nay, they go much further, for they throw a strong doubt on the received opinion that Overbury did not die a natural death. If he were really murdered, can we believe that the Lieutenant of the Tower, and his officers ; the physician who attended Sir Thomas, and by the appointment too of his father, in his last illness ; the jury, and his own private friends, who viewed his body after death ; could possibly have agreed to conceal so horrible a fact ? or, if we could suppose that they did so agree at the time, that not an individual, of so many, should ever have divulged it ? With these questions, however, this work has no concern, further than as they may apply to the subject immediately before us, to which, after this apology, we may now turn with more satisfaction.

The Earl of Northampton saved from those revenues which himself had acquired a very considerable sum, without unbecoming parsimony, for he was famous for his scrupulous imitation of the grandeur of the ancient nobility in his public appearance, and in his household ; and he built that sumptu-

ous palace at Charing-Cross, which was then called Northampton, afterwards Suffolk, and of late years Northumberland-House, in which he ended his life. He founded also three hospitals ; at Greenwich, at Clun in Shropshire, and at Castlerising in Norfolk. His learning, as I have observed, has been highly celebrated, and his natural talents were little inferior to his learning. He employed himself much in his leisure hours with literary composition, and in 1583, printed at the Earl of Arundel's Press, a very large work, with the following prolix title, which will sufficiently explain its nature and intention—"A Defensative against the Poyson of supposed Prophetes, not hitherto confuted by the penne of any man ; which, being grounded eyther uppon the warrant and authority of old paynted Bookes, Expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Revelations, Invocations of damned Spirits, Judicialls of Astrology, or any other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoever, de futuris Contingentibus, have been causes of great disorder in the Commonwealth, and cheefely among the simple and unlearned People. Very needfull to be published at this time, considering the late offence, which grew by most palpable and grose errors in Astrologie."

The "late Offence" to which he alludes, and which, as Lord Northampton seldom acted without a particular view, probably furnished the motive to this Treatise, is not to be discovered in history, but the book itself is indeed the result of a prodigious extent of study, equally abundant in scriptural and classical learning, and full of good argument, continually illustrated by curious anecdotes, as well modern as ancient. The rest of his works remain unpublished. Two Treatises to justify female government, the one in the Harleian, the other in the Bodleian Collection ; "An Abstract of the frauds of the Officers of the Navy," among the King's MSS. "A Defence of the French Monsieur's desiring Queen Elizabeth in marriage," also in the Harleian ; and some devotional pieces in other departments of the library of the Museum. But the great treasure of his remains is a volume of twelve

hundred pages, in the Cotton MSS. marked Titus C 6, consisting of private letters, speeches in parliament, small treatises, prayers, detached maxims and observations, poems, &c. written at all times of his life, and here transcribed almost wholly with his own hand. In the authorities which I have consulted for the present purpose I find no notice taken of this very curious collection, which, even from the cursory inspection which I have been able to bestow on it, appears to contain matters of inestimable importance to the history of his time.

This extraordinary man died, unmarried, on the fifteenth of June, 1614. "The Earl of Northampton," says Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, "having, after a lingering fever, spent more spirits than a younger body could well have borne, by the incision of a wennish tumour on his thigh, yesternight, between eleven and twelve of the clock, departed out of this world."

In his will, which is dated only on the day before his death, is this passage—"I recognize, with all the loyallnes of my harte, the exceeding extraordinarie love, favour, and bountie, of my most deare and gracious Sovereigne, whom I have found ever so constant to me his unworthy sarvant as no devises of myne enemyes could ever draw or divert his goodnes from me. I most humbly beseech his excellent Majestie to accept as a poore remembrance of me his faythefull sarvant, a ewer of golde, of one hundred pounds value, with one hundred jacobine pieces of twenty-two shillings a peece therein; on which ewer my desyer is there should be this inscription:—*Detur Dignissimo.*" He was buried in the church of Dover Castle.





LADY ARABELLA STUART.

OB. 1615.

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

It is surprising that so little attention should have been hitherto bestowed on the fair subject of this memoir. Not more distinguished by royal lineage than by admirable talents and worth : importantly connected with the history of her time, while her private life was marked by events so strange as to resemble the fictions of romance ; a victim to various and almost unceasing calamity, and at length a martyr to the vilest persecution ; the circumstances of her story have been hitherto suffered to remain in a great measure uncollected. It is true that her name appears in some works of general biography, and it is true also that the articles to which it is prefixed are always superficial, and in many instances erroneous.

She was the only child of Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lenox, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, of Hardwick, in Derbyshire, and is supposed to have been born in 1577. Her father, unhappily for her, was of the royal blood both of England and Scotland, for he was a younger brother of King Henry, father of James the Sixth, and great-grandson, through his mother, who was a daughter of Margaret, Queen of Scots, to our Henry the Seventh. This illustrious misfortune, from which she derived no kind of claim to the throne of Scotland, and but a remote chance of inheriting the English crown, rendered her equally obnoxious to the caution of Elizabeth, and the timidity of James, and they secretly dreaded the supposed danger of her leaving a legitimate offspring. Many subordinate circumstances concurred to

increase their aversion. She had been born in England, where her father died in the twenty-first year of his age, and admirably educated under the care of her grandmother, the old Countess of Lenox, who resided in London. Her manners, her habits, and her attachments, were therefore entirely English, and her character displayed, together with a fine understanding and high accomplishments, a heart so kind, so frank, and so innocent, and such a lively humour, as ensured the admiration and delight of all who knew her. Her exalted rank kept her almost always within the circle of a Court to which she was the chief ornament, and she became there the object of that meaner and more common sort of jealousy which constantly follows superior merit. A disgust of a graver order succeeded ; and princes and statesmen thought that they discerned in the spontaneous tribute of regard which her perfections demanded the views of a party which had conspired to raise her to the throne. It is true that some of those busy and intriguing spirits, from which no State can ever be entirely free, had occasionally glanced at her presumptive title, and even urged some fantastic arguments in favour of her succession to Elizabeth ; and the well known father Persons, in his hatred to that princess, to whom he was conscious that no theme of disquisition could be more odious, collected their reasonings in a pamphlet of no small extent, which he dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and printed in 1594, under the assumed name of Richard Dolman. This work, although the author had the candour to deny Arabella's claim to the immediate inheritance, published her name and descent in every part of Europe : she became for a time the subject of frequent conversation in all the foreign Courts, and the suspicion in which she was already held at home naturally increased.

James, who beheld her with complacency till he had ascended the throne of England, earnestly desired to marry her to his cousin, Esme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lenox, and whom, before the birth of his own children, he

had considered as his heir ; but this match was prevented by Elizabeth, under the false pretence that Lenox was a papist. A son of the Earl of Northumberland then addressed her, and was favourably received. Their correspondence, which the great Thuanus mistakingly asserts to have proceeded to a marriage, was necessarily carried on in privacy, but was presently discovered, and she was placed for a time in confinement, by the Queen's order, but released without further punishment. Thus injured as she had been by Elizabeth, the death of that princess increased the measure of her misfortunes. Soon after the accession of James, Raleigh, having ruined his own credit with the King by his endeavours to undermine Cecil's, plunged into that conspiracy with the Brooks, so fatal to himself, of which little is known but that its main object was to place her on a throne to which she had neither inclination nor pretensions, and by means unknown to herself. During his trial, at which she was present, on the first mention of her name in the evidence, Cecil rose, and said, " here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the King's. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech. She is as innocent of all these things as I, or any man here, only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the King." The old Earl of Nottingham, who stood by her, added, " the Lady doth here protest upon her salvation that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she wills me to tell the court ;" and Cecil proceeded—" The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella to know if he might come and speak with her, and gave her to understand that there were some about the King that laboured to disgrace her : she doubted it was but a trick ; but Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, saith that my Lord moved him to procure the Lady Arabella to write to the King of Spain ; but he affirms that he never did move her as his brother devised." Whether these noblemen seriously meant to exculpate her may perhaps be doubtful ; but we have abundant reason to

believe that they spoke the truth, since no trace of historical intelligence is to be found that tends to implicate her as an active party in this most obscure, and even ridiculous design.

Some reflections however had been cast on her by one of the witnesses, for Michael Hickes, reciting some particulars of Raleigh's trial, in a letter to her uncle, Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, of the sixth of December, 1603, writes—"They say the La. Arbella's name came to be mentioned in the evidence against him, but she was cleared in the opinion of all, and, as I hard, my L^d C. spake very honourably on her behalf; but one that gave in evydence, as it is sayd, spake very grossly and rudely concerninge her La. as I thynk yo^r L^p hath hard, or shall heare." It is worthy of remark that the passages alluded to by Mr. Hickes do not appear in the printed accounts of Raleigh's trial, in which her name is mentioned only in the indictment; and it should seem that the notes of those parts of the evidence had been suppressed, while the apologetic addresses of the two Lords, to which they had given occasion, were inadvertently suffered to be published. It must be inferred then that James, and his government, not only believed her to be innocent, but were inclined even to favour her, for the trial could not have been published but with their sanction: yet she appears at that time to have lost her credit at Court, where she presently afterwards suffered, together with the mortification of being personally neglected by the royal family, the various vexations of a pecuniary embarrassment extending nearly to poverty. Under all these untoward circumstances, she had no prospect of protection but in marriage, while she durst not openly encourage the addresses of any suitor; and persons of inferior rank, and with sordid views, availed themselves of her situation to make proposals to her which her terrors and distresses induced her to listen to, at least without the contempt which they deserved. Thus too she was forced into habits of deception and hypocrisy, contrary to her generous and candid nature. Fowler, Secretary and Master

of Requests to Anne of Denmark, in a letter to the same Earl of Shrewsbury, of the third of October, in the following year, says—"My Lady Arbella spends her time in lecture, reiding, hearing of service and preaching, and visiting all the Princesses. She will not heare of marriage. Inderectlie ther wer speaches used in the recommendation of Count Maurice, who pretendeth to be Duke of Gueldres. I dare not attempte her."

Matters proceeded thus till Christmas 1608, when James appears to have received her into some degree of favour, for he gave her, according to the custom of court presents at that season, one thousand marks, to pay her debts, and plate to the amount of two hundred pounds. About this time he granted her, as will be presently shown by a document which has till now escaped notice, and which contradicts the report of all who have mentioned this part of her story, his permission to marry, only restricting her choice to his own subjects. She determined on William Seymour, grandson, and afterwards heir to the Earl of Hertford, but a natural timidity, which had been increased by constant ill usage, joined perhaps to some doubt of the King's sincerity, or of his resolution, induced her still to dissemble, and they were married with the utmost privacy in January, or February, 1609. Her apprehensions were but too just. A rumour of unusual intimacy between them having been conveyed to the court, they were summoned before the Privy Council, and reprehended with great severity. As they were then suffered to escape without further punishment, it may be presumed that they yet denied their marriage, and were credited; but in the summer of the following year it was by some means fully discovered, and the Lady was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, in his house at Lambeth, and Mr. Seymour to the Tower of London, where, on his arrival, he was complimented by Melvin, a nonconformist minister, then confined there, with a distich, the pretty quaintness of which

may furnish an excuse for the momentary interruption of this narrative —

“ Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris : Ara—
Bella tibi causa est ; araque sacra mihi.”

It was probably at this precise period that Arabella addressed to the King the following petition, or letter, which has been preserved in the Harleian collection, together with some other papers of less moment relating to her marriage, among which is a declaration to the Privy Council by Sir Edward Rodney, that it was solemnised in his presence, in her chamber at Greenwich.

“ May itt please your most excellent Ma^{tie}.

“ I doe most hartily lament my hard fortune that I should offend yo^r Ma^{tie}, especiallie in that whereby I have longe desired to meritt of yo^r Ma^{tie}, as appeared before yo^r Ma^{tie} was my Sovereaigne : and, thoughe yo^r Ma^{ties} neglect of me, my good likeinge of this gent. that is my husband, & my fortune, drewe me to a contracte before I acquainted yo^r Ma^{tie}, I humblie beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to consider howe impossible itt was for me to ymagine itt could be offensive unto yo^r Ma^{tie}, havinge fewe days before geven me your royall consent to bestowe myselfe on anie subject of yo^r Ma^{ties}, w^{ch} likewise yo^r Ma^{tie} had done longe since. Besides, never havinge ben either prohibited any, or spoken to for any, in this land by yo^r Ma^{tie} these 7 years that I have lived in yo^r Ma^{ties} house, I could not conceave that yo^r Ma^{tie} regarded my mariage att all ; whereas, if yo^r Ma^{tie} had vouchsafed to tell me yo^r mynd, and accepte the free will offeringe of my obedience, I would not have offended yo^r Ma^{tie}, of whose gracious goodness I presume so much that, if itt weare as convenient in a worldlie respect as mallice may make itt seame to seperate us whom God hath joyned, yo^r Ma^{tie} would not doe evill that good might come thereof ; nor make me, that

have the honor to be so neare yo' Ma^{tie} in bloud, the first presedent that ever was, though our Princes maie have lefte some as little imitable for so good and gracious a Kinge as yo' Ma^{tie} as David's dealinge with Uriah. But I assure mysele, if it please yo' Ma^{tie} in yo' owne wisdom to consider throughlie of my cause, there will noe solide reason appeare to debarre me of justice, and yo' princelie favor, w^{ch} I will endeavor to deserve whilst I breathe, and, never ceasinge to praie for yo' Ma^{ties} felicitie in all thinges, remaine,

“Your Ma^{ties}” &c.

The rigour with which they were first confined was soon abated. She was allowed the range of Sir Thomas Parry's grounds, and at length placed under the charge of Sir James Crofts, in the house of a Mr. Conyers, at Highgate; and Mr. Seymour seems to have had nearly the freedom of a prisoner on parole. They took the advantage of this relaxation to correspond by letters; their intercourse was detected; and the King commanded that Arabella should be removed to Durham. Mutually terrified at the prospect of so total a separation, they determined to fly, and found means to concert a plan for their departure, which both effected on the same day, the third of June, 1611, unhappily, however, owing to some error in their appointment, never to meet again. The circumstances of their escape are related in a letter from a Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated on the eighth of that month, with a liveliness and simplicity which could not but be injured by describing them in any other form of words.

“On Monday last, in the afternoon,” says Mr. More, “my Lady Arabella, lying at Mr. Conyer's house near Highgate, having induced her keepers and attendants into security by the fair show of conformity, and willingness to go on her journey towards Durham, which the next day she must have done, and in the meantime disguising herself, by drawing a pair of great French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, pulling

on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke, with long locks, over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side, walked forth between three and four of the clock with Markham. After they had gone a-foot a mile and a half to a sorry inn, where Crompton attended with horses, she grew very sick and faint, so as the ostler that held the stirrups said that gentleman would hardly hold out to London ; yet, being set on a good gelding astride, in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face; and so she rode on towards Blackwall, where arriving about six of the clock, finding there in a readiness two men, a gentlewoman, and a chambermaid, with one boat full of Mr. Seymour's and her trunks, and another boat for their persons, they hasted from thence towards Woolwich. Being come so far, they bade the watermen row on to Gravesend : there the watermen were desirous to land, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Leigh, and by that time the day appeared, and they discovered a ship at anchor a mile beyond them, which was the French bark that waited for them. Here the lady would have lain at anchor, expecting Mr. Seymour, but, through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoisted sail seaward. In the mean while Mr. Seymour, with a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny cloth suit, walked alone without suspicion from his lodging, out of the great west door of the Tower, following a cart that had brought him billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower wharf, by the warders of the south gate, and so to the iron gate, where Rodney was ready with oars to receive him. When they came to Leigh, and found that the French ship was gone, the billows rising high, they hired a fisherman for twenty shillings to set them aboard a certain ship that they saw under sail. That ship they found not to be it they looked for ; so they made forward to the next under sail, which was a ship of Newcastle. This, with much ado, they hired for forty pounds to carry them to Calais, but whether the collier did

perform his bargain or no is not as yet here known. On Tuesday, in the afternoon, my Lord Treasurer being advertised that the Lady Arabella had made an escape, sent forthwith to the Lieutenant of the Tower to set strait guard over Mr. Seymour; but, coming to the prisoner's lodgings, he found, to his great amazement, that he was gone from thence one whole day before."

Mr. More, having stated some other matters not to our present purpose, adds—"Now the King, and the Lords, being much disturbed with this unexpected accident, my Lord Treasurer sent orders to a pinnace that lay at the Downs to put presently to sea, first to Calais roads, and then to scour up the coast towards Dunkirk. This pinnace, spying the aforesaid bark which lay lingering for Mr. Seymour, made to her, which thereupon offered to fly towards Calais, and endured thirteen shot of the pinnace before she would strike. In this bark is the lady taken, with her followers, and brought back towards the Tower, not so sorry for her own restraint as she would be glad if Mr. Seymour might escape, whose welfare she protesteth to affect much more than her own." He did in fact arrive safely in Flanders, where he remained for many years a voluntary exile.

The unfortunate Arabella was led a prisoner to London, and placed in the closest confinement. A great parade was made of the enormity of her crime, perhaps to maintain some consonance with the terms of a proclamation which had been issued for the apprehension of herself and her husband, in which they were charged with "divers great and heinous offences." Her aunt, Mary Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, was also committed to the Tower, and the Earl, her husband, confined in his own house. Even the Earl of Hertford, infirm and superannuated as he was, received a summons to repair instantly to the Court from his distant retirement. Arabella and Lady Shrewsbury were immediately questioned at great length by the Privy Council. The

former, says More, in another letter to Winwood, "answered the Lords at her examination with good judgment and discretion, but the other is said to be utterly without reason, crying out that all is but tricks and giggs : that she will answer nothing in private : and if she have offended in law, she will answer it in public,"—a resolution surely not less reasonable than high-spirited. The same letter informs us that great contrariety of prejudice on the subject of her persecution arose between the English and Scottish parties ; the one averring that it was ridiculous to apprehend any design on the throne from pretensions so remote ; the other comparing the offence, for the perils that it involved, to the gunpowder treason : "and so," adds More, who appears to have been a man of considerable ability and penetration, "it is said to fill his Majesty with fearful imaginations, and with him, the Prince, who cannot so easily be removed from any settled opinion."

After long-protracted and nice inquiry, no ground could be discovered for any criminal charge against either of them, yet they were suffered to remain close prisoners. Early, however, in the following year, it was suddenly reported to the Court that Arabella was inclined to make extraordinary disclosures, and she was again summoned before the Council, and preferred some strange and incoherent accusations against several persons, among whom was the Countess, her aunt, who was still in confinement : but it presently appeared that the frame of her mind had given way under the pressure of aggravated calamity and unjust seclusion. James and his ministers at length sacrificed to prudence what they had denied to justice and humanity, and all proceedings were dropped ; but she was remanded to the Tower, where she soon after sank into helpless idiocy, and survived in that wretched state till September, 1615, on the twenty-seventh of which month she was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the remains of her kinsman, Henry, Prince of Wales. We find in the poems of Richard Corbet, Bishop

of Norwich, the following lines, by way of monumental inscription to her memory, which seem to challenge insertion here.

“How do I thank ye, death, and bless thy power,
That I have passed the guard, and ’scaped the Tower!
And now my pardon is my epitaph,
And a small coffin my poor carcase hath;
For at thy charge both soul and body were
Enlarged at last, secur’d from hope and fear.
That amongst saints, this amongst Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim my death hath paid.”

Nor shall I be blamed for concluding this memoir with one of her letters, which, as it has no relation to any particular part of her foregoing story, may perhaps be most properly placed here. The good sense, the elegance of expression, the innocent playfulness, and the high politeness, with which she communicates the trifles of which it treats, will tend to prove the truth of the slight view which I have ventured to give of her character, and increase our pity for her sufferings, and our indignation against the memory of her persecutors. It is addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and was written in the year 1603.

“At my returne from Oxford, wheare I have spent this day, whilst my Lo. Cecill, amongst many more weighty affaires, was despatching som of mine, I found my cousin Lacy had disburdened himselfe at my chamber of the charge he had from you, and straight fell to prepare his fraught back, for hindering his back returne to-morrow morning, as he intendeth.

“I writt to you of the reason of the delay of Taxis’ audience: it remaineth to tell how jovially he behaveth himselfe in the intrim. He hath brought great store of Spanish gloves, hauke’s hoods, leather for jerkins, and, moreover, a perfumer. These delicacies he bestoweth amongst our ladies and lords, I will not say wth a hope to effeminate the one

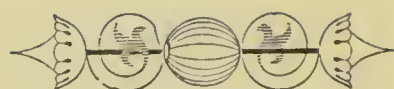
sex, but certainly wth a hope to grow gracious wth the other, as he already is. The curiosity of our sex drew many la. and gentlewomen to gaze at him betwixt his landing place and Oxford, his abiding place; which he desirous to satisfy (I will not say nourish that vice) made his coche stop, and tooke occasion wth petty guiftes and cowrtesies to winne soone wonne affections; who, comparing his manner wth Monsieur de Ronee's, hold him theyr farre wellcomer guest. At Oxford he took som distast about his lodging, and would needes lodge at an inne, because he had not all Christe's Colledge to him selfe, and was not received into the towne by the Vice-chancellour, in pontificalibus, which they never use to do but to the King, or Queene, or Chancellour of the University, as they say; but those scruples were soon digested, and he vouchsafeth to lodge in a peece of the college till his repaire to the King at Winchester.

"Count Arimberg was heere wthin these few dayes, and presented to the Queene the Archduke and the Infanta's pictures, most excellently drawne. Yesterday the King and Queene dined at a lodge of S^r Henry Lea's 3 miles hence, and weare accompanied by the French Imbasadour, and a Dutch Duke. I will not say we weare merry at the Dutchkin, least you complaine of me for telling tales out of the Queene's coch; but I could finde in my heart to write unto you som of our yesterdaye's adventures, but that it groweth late, and by the shortnesse of your letter, I conjecture you would not have this honest gentleman overladen wth such superfluous relations. My Lo. Admirall is returned from the Prince and Princesse, and either is or wil be my cousin before incredulous you will beleeve such incongruities in a counsellour, as love maketh no miracles in his subjectes, of what degree or age whatsoever. His daughter of Kildare is discharged of her office, and as neere a free woman as may be, and have a bad husband. The Dutch Lady my Lo. Wotton spoke of at Basing proved a lady sent by the Dutchess of Holstein, to learne the English fashions. She lodgeth at Oxford, and

hath binne heere twice, and thincketh every day long till she be at home, so well she liketh her entertainment, or loveth her owne countrey. In truth she is civill, and thearfore cannot but look for the like which she brings out of a ruder countrey: but if ever there weare such a vertu as curtesy at the Court, I marvell what is become of it, for I protest I see little or none of it but in the Queene, who ever since her coming to Newbury hath spoken to the people as she passeth, and receiveth theyr prayers wth thanckes, and thanckfull countenance, barefaced, to the great contentment of natife and forrein people; for I would not have you thincke the French Imbassador would leave that attractive vertu of our late Queene El. unremembered or uncommended when he saw it imitated by our most gracious Queene, least you should thinke we infect even our neighbours wth incivility. But what a theame have rude I gotten unawares! It is your owne vertu I commend by the foile of the contrary vice; and so, thincking on you, my penne accused myselfe before I was aware; therefore I will put it to silence for this time, only adding a short but most hearty prayer for your prosperity in all kindes, and so humbly take my leave. From Woodstocke, the 16 of September.

“Yo’ Lo’. neece,

“ARBELLA STUART.”





THOMAS EGERTON,

VISCOUNT BRACKLEY

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR

OB. 1617.

THOMAS EGERTON,

VISCOUNT BRACKLEY.

THIS admirable person, whose virtues and whose wisdom have shed on his memory a fame which the utmost splendour of ancestry could not render more bright, was the natural son of Sir Richard Egerton, of Ridley, in Cheshire, by Alice, daughter of Sparke, and was born in that county about the year 1540. At the age of sixteen he was admitted a commoner of Brazen Nose College, in Oxford, and removed from thence in 1559 to Lincoln's Inn, where he studied the law with equal assiduity and success, and acquired, soon after his appearance at the bar, the highest distinction, as well for his eloquence as for his professional learning. Many years elapsed before he became a public officer, for he sought not for patronage, and abhorred intrigue. At length, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1581, Elizabeth appointed him her Solicitor-General, and he remained in that office, without further promotion, till the second of June, 1594, when he was placed in that of Attorney. On the tenth of April, 1596, he was raised to the place of Master of the Rolls, and on the sixth of the following month to that of Lord Keeper, on the sudden death of Sir John Puckering.

We have many testimonies that he owed this elevation to the Queen's sole favour, and that it was beheld by the people with the highest approbation. In a letter to the Earl of Essex, printed in Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, the writer, a Mr. Reynolds, says, "the Master of the Rolls has changed his style, and is made Lord Keeper, only by her Majesty's

gracious favour and by her own choice. I think no man ever came to this dignity with more applause than this worthy gentleman :” and in another, from Anthony Bacon to a friend at Venice, Mr. Bacon, having spoken of the death of the Lord Keeper, adds—“into whose place, with an extraordinary speed, her Majesty hath, *ex proprio motu, et speciali gratiâ*, advanced Sir Thomas Egerton, with a general applause, both of court, city, and country, for the reputation he hath of integrity, law, knowledge, and courage. It was his good hap to come to the place freely, without competitor or mediator ; yea, against the desire and endeavour, as it is thought, of the omnipotent couple ;” meaning, no doubt, the Cecils, father and son. Camden, too, in his history of that year, says, “Puckering’s place was supplied by Thomas Egerton, the Attorney-General, of whose fair and equal deportment every one had conceived mighty hopes and expectations.”

Nature, which had endowed him with all the grand principles whereon to form a statesman, had given him also dispositions which tended to render him unfit for that character. His perfect integrity, and the frank simplicity of his mind and heart, were ill suited to the practice of those artifices and frauds which exalt the fame of the politician while they ought to degrade that of the man. We hear little of him therefore in diplomatic negotiations, although it was the fashion of his time to intrust them mostly to eminent lawyers. He was a Commissioner in 1598 for treating with the United Provinces, chiefly on the subject of their debts to England ; again in 1600, for the arrangement of some affairs with Denmark ; and once more, towards the conclusion of his life, for the surrendering the cautionary towns into the hands of the States General. It is probable, however, that he was literally the keeper of the Queen’s conscience, and that such of her affairs as could be submitted to the regulation of unmixed wisdom and honour were directed solely by his advice. Strictly of that nature was the mediation which

Elizabeth secretly intrusted to him, by which she vainly sought to shield the amiable and frantic Essex against his own rage. The Lord Keeper and Essex lived in the strictest friendship and confidence. Their dispositions, to common observers, seemed to be dissimilar almost to opposition, but the perfect honesty of their hearts, that sublime principle, compared to which the petty differences of character among men will be found to be little more than habits, had bound them in a firm union. "They love and join very honourably together," says Anthony Bacon, in another of his letters; "out of which correspondency, and noble conjunction, betwixt Mars and Pallas; betwixt justice and valour; I mean betwixt so admirable a nobleman as the Earl, and so worthy a justice as the Lord Keeper. I doubt not but very famous effects will daily spring, to her Majesty's honour, the good of the state, and the comfort of both their lordships' particular true friends." The unhappy circumstances which prevented those results form an interesting feature of our history, and have always been well known; but the kind and wise endeavours of Egerton to cool the fever of his friend's mind, to bring Essex to a just sense of his duty, and the Queen to a dispassionate consideration of his merits and infirmities, have been developed chiefly by the publication in Birch's memoirs of the correspondence which passed between them while Essex was smarting under the blow which he had received from the hand of Elizabeth. His subsequent submission has been ascribed to the arguments, at once mild and firm, of the Lord Keeper. On his hasty and imprudent return in the following year from his unfortunate campaign in Ireland, when it was judged necessary to restrain him from the seditious society into which he had thrown himself, he was committed to the hospitable custody of the same friend, in whose house he remained in an honourable captivity for more than six months. When the charges against him were there examined by a committee of the Privy Council, the Lord Keeper sat as president, and again earnestly endeavoured to save him;

and, finally, submitted, with a patience and magnanimity equal to Essex's madness, to the indignity and danger of being locked up by that nobleman in Essex House, which he had visited unprotected, with conciliatory proposals from the Queen, exposed to the fury of an infatuated mob, by which his life was every moment threatened. Their friendship was terminated but by the stroke under which the Earl soon after fell on the scaffold.

The accession of James brought him an increase of favour. On the third of May, 1603, he met the King at Broxborne, in Herts; tendered his resignation of the Great Seal; and was, with the most flattering expressions, commanded to retain it. On the nineteenth of July following, James, not by the customary warrant, but by a notice, as is said, in his own hand-writing, bestowed on him the title of Baron Ellesmere, "for his good and faithful services, not only in the administration of justice, but also in council, to the late Queen, and to himself." His patent for that honour was dated on the twenty-first of the same month, and on the twenty-fourth his great office was dignified by the more splendid style of Lord High Chancellor. Towards the end of that year he presided at the trials of the Lords Cobham and Grey, and in the next was one of the Commissioners for the union of Scotland to England, which was then ineffectually attempted. In 1605 he was appointed High Steward of the city, and in 1610 elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in which character he opposed his authority, with an earnest but well-tempered zeal, and with the strictest impartiality, against the popish and puritan parties which in his time had attained to a great, though unequal, ascendancy in that body. The Church of England never had a truer son, nor learning a more earnest friend; those therefore who rose by his means were generally as much distinguished by their orthodoxy as by their erudition. Among the many who shared his favour the most remarkable were Bacon and Williams the one selected from the law, the

other from the church, and each of these filled at length the exalted seat which had been so long and so worthily held by their venerable patron. Bacon, indeed, was his immediate successor—a philosopher but in a narrow sense of the word, he had pressed, it is lamentable to say, with a disgusting and unfeeling eagerness, for the Seal long before the death of his benefactor. The fortunes of Williams were not yet sufficiently ripe to enable him to tread on the heels of his illustrious friend. He was the Chancellor's chosen intimate and companion: lived in his house, and was his chaplain, being the first who had served any Chancellor in that capacity since the reformation. He succeeded to Bacon in the custody of the Seal, and became afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and, finally, Archbishop of York.

The peace of Lord Ellesmere's latter days was somewhat clouded by an attack on the jurisdiction of his Court, which was indirectly encouraged by the great Chief Justice Coke, rather, as it should seem, from a natural turbulence, and busy restlessness of temper, than from any particular impression of malice or envy. The cause, progress, and termination of this difference are narrated by Arthur Wilson, in his *Life of James*, with a clearness and conciseness which no alteration could amend. I shall therefore give his account in his own words.

“A little before this time” (in the autumn of 1615) “there was a breach between the Lord Chief Justice Coke and the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, which made a passage to both their declines. Sir Edward Coke had heard and determined a cause at the common law, and some report there was juggling in the business. The witness that knew, and should have related, the truth, was wrought upon to be absent, if any man would undertake to excuse his non-appearance. A pragmatist fellow of the party undertook it; went with the witness to a tavern: called for a gallon pot full of sack; bade him drink; and so leaving him, went into the Court. This witness is called for, as the prop of

the cause. The undertaker answers, upon oath, that he left him 'in such a condition that if he continues in it but a quarter of an hour he is a dead man.' This evidencing the man's incapability to come, deaded the matter so that it lost the cause. The plaintiffs, that had the injury, bring the business about in chancery. The defendants, having had judgment at common law, refuse to obey the orders of the court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for contempt of the court, commits them to prison; they petition against him in the Star Chamber: The Lord Chief Justice joins with them; foment the difference; threatening the Chancellor with a præmunire: the Chancellor makes the King acquainted with the business, who sent to Sir Francis Bacon, his Attorney General; Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crewe, his Serjeants at law; and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Solicitor; commanded them to search what precedents there have been of late years wherein such as complained in Chancery were relieved, according to equity and conscience, after judgment at common law. These, being men well versed in their profession, after canvassing the matter thoroughly, returned answer to the King that there had been a strong current of practice and proceeding in Chancery after judgment in common law, and, many times, after execution, continued since Henry the Seventh's time to the Lord Chancellor that now is, both in the reigns, seriatim, of the several Kings, and the times of the several Chancellors, whereof divers were great learned men in the law; it being in cases where there is no remedy for the subject by the strict course of the common law, unto which the judges are sworn. This," continues Wilson, "satisfied the King; justified the Lord Chancellor; and the Chief Justice received the foil, which was a bitter potion to his spirit."

A larger account of this memorable dispute may be found in a very long letter to the King from Sir Francis Bacon, which is printed in the general collection of his works, and elsewhere. The dexterity with which he avoids giving any

decided opinion on a question of law on which James had undoubtedly called for his advice, and the flattery which he indirectly lavishes on that Prince's ruling foible, render it a singular curiosity : of the latter the following passage will be a sufficient specimen. "Two things I wish to be done : the one, that your Majesty take this occasion to redouble unto all your judges your ancient and true charge of rule, that you will endure no innovating the point of jurisdiction, but will have every court impaled within their own precedents, and not assume to themselves new powers, upon conceits and inventions of law : the other, that in these high causes that touch upon state and monarchy, your Majesty give them strait charge that, upon any occasions intervenial hereafter, they do not make the vulgar party to their contestations, by publicly handling them before they have consulted with your Majesty, to whom the reglement of those things only appertaineth." The matter terminated in Coke's utter disgrace. On the third of June, 1616, a commission was issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the Council, to enquire who were the authors of calling the Chancellor into question of *præmunire* ; and, on the third of the following October, he was cited, says Camden, in his *Annals of King James*, before the Chancellor ; dismissed from his office of Chief Justice ; banished Westminster Hall ; and, further, ordered to answer some matters contained in his Reports. The truth is that James the more readily sided with the Chancellor in this affair because Coke had of late spoken too freely of the prerogative. He had said publicly in his court, glancing at some recent instance of royal interference, that "the common law of England would be overthrown, and the light of it obscured." The puisne judges also had indulged in the use of similar censures on different occasions, and the King now summoned them to his presence ; reprimanded them severely : and required them to crave his pardon on their knees, to which all of them submitted except the Chief Justice, who sted-

fastly refused. It is but candid to confess that this humiliation was exacted with the Chancellor's concurrence, and was performed in his presence.

Lord Ellesmere, who had attained to the age of seventy-six, lay in a state of extreme illness during the heat of this contest. The flattering prospect, however, of its issue seems to have revived him, and on the twenty-fourth of May he presided as Lord High Steward on the trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury. It has been said that he positively refused to affix the Seal to the pardon so unjustly granted to them by James ; but it is scarcely credible that he who could advise, or at least silently witness, so undue an exertion of the royal prerogative as has been just now mentioned, would have resisted, as it were in the same hour, that exercise of it which has been in all ages implicitly allowed. Soon after this period he rapidly declined. In the autumn of 1616 he solicited James, by an affecting letter, to accept his resignation, which being kindly refused, he repeated his request by a second. The king and Prince flattered him by intreaties to retain his office, and, on the seventh of November in that year, he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Brackley. At length, on the third of the following March, James, in a visit to him on his death bed, received the Seal from his hand with tears. He survived only till the fifteenth, when, half an hour before his departure, Sir Francis Bacon, the new Lord Keeper, waited on him to notify the King's intention to create him Earl of Bridgewater. He was buried at Dodleston, in Cheshire.

It may not be too much to say that for purity of reputation this great man's character stands distinguished from those of all other public ministers of this country in all ages ; while for wisdom in council, profound knowledge of the laws, and general learning, he has seldom been excelled. Hacket, in his life of Archbishop Williams, says that he was a man "*qui nihil in vitâ nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut sensit,*" for his domestic life was as exemplary as his public

conduct. His attention to the extrajudicial duties of his high office was not less sedulous and constant than to the causes in his court. In a speech at the conference of divines at Hampton Court in 1603-4, he uttered these expressions, which deserve to be recorded in letters of gold. "Livings rather want learned men than learned men livings, many in the Universities pining for want of places. I wish therefore some may have single coats before others have doublets; and this method I have observed in bestowing the King's benefices." We have three professional tracts from his pen in print—his speech in the Exchequer Chamber in the case of Colvil of Culross, usually called the case of the Postnati, published in 1609: "The Privileges and Prerogatives of the High Court of Chancery," in 1641: and "Certain Observations concerning the Office of Lord Chancellor," in 1651. But his great work, if it yet exists, remains in manuscript—four treatises on the High Court of Parliament; the Court of Chancery; the Starchamber; and the Council board. These, in his last hours, he gave to his chaplain, Williams, who some years after presented them to the King. He was thrice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton, in the county of Flint, by whom he had two sons and one daughter; Sir Thomas Egerton, who served bravely under the Earl of Essex at Cadiz, and afterwards in Ireland, where he died unmarried; John, who succeeded his father, and was, within a few weeks after his death, created Earl of Bridgewater; and Mary, wife of Sir Francis Leigh, of Newnham Regis, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath. The Chancellor married secondly Elizabeth, sister to Sir George More, of Loseley, in Surrey, widow of Sir John Wolley, of Pitford, in the same county; and, thirdly, Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, and widow of Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby; but had no issue by either.





SIR WALTER RALEIGH,

OB. 1619.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

THE history of Raleigh has always been an object of anxious and busy inquiry, and the pains that have been taken to render it complete seem to have been rewarded with the most ample success. This will ever be the case with one who moved in so many spheres of action, and shone so brightly in such various classes of fame. The soldier will cherish the reputation of heroes ; the critic, of writers ; the politician, of statesmen ; but in this individuality of attention, in this unconscious singleness of fellow feeling, how many inestimable notices of general character are overlooked, and irrecoverably lost ! The life of Raleigh, on the other hand, was a sort of public property, in which every taste and every profession had an interest, and each therefore has lent a helping hand to raise and perfect the biographical monument which has been erected to his memory. To endeavour to add to such a story would be hopeless labour : to select from it can be little better than dull repetition.

Raleigh was descended from a family of high antiquity in Devonshire. He was a younger son of a gentleman of his names, who was seated in a mansion called Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood, near Plymouth, by his third wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun, of Modbury, and widow of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, all which parishes are in that county. He was born in 1552, and exactly well educated, first under the care of his father, and afterwards in Oriel College, of which he was entered at about the age of sixteen, and which he left, though his residence there had

little exceeded one year, with a high reputation for academical attainments. In the autumn of 1569 he entered into public life in the character of a soldier, in a troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, raised by his relation Henry Champernoun, which attached itself to the expedition then fitted out by the order of Elizabeth for the succour of the Huguenots in France. In this service, which was of the most arduous character, he remained for not less than five years, and is supposed to have returned in 1576, in which year it is evident that he resided in chambers in the Middle Temple, a circumstance which has given occasion to some contest among his biographers which might have been effectually set at rest by reference to his trial, on which he took occasion expressly to declare that he had never studied the law. He remained however not long inactive, for in 1577 he made a campaign in the Low Countries under the command of Norris, and in the following year, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one of the celebrated navigators of that day, who was his uterine brother, having obtained a patent from the Queen to colonize in North America, Raleigh embarked with him in that expedition. It proved unsuccessful. They were met on their voyage by a Spanish fleet of superior force, and defeated; and Raleigh, returning just at the period when a new insurrection, aided by the intrigues and the troops of Spain, had broken out in Ireland, flew to the scene of action, and now proved that he possessed, in addition to the personal bravery for which he was already distinguished, all other qualifications for a military commander. The government of Munster, a post then of the greatest importance, was intrusted to him, jointly with two old officers of established fame; a few months after he was appointed Governor of Cork; and these were his first public employments.

The Irish insurgents having been for the time reduced, he arrived in England towards the end of the year 1581, to seek preferment at the Court. It has been said that he first attracted Elizabeth's notice by a singular sort of compliment:

that happening to be near her when she was walking abroad, and met with a marshy spot which she hesitated whether to pass over, he stepped suddenly forward, and taking off his velvet cloak, spread it on the place for her to tread on. The same light authorities inform us that, shortly after he had thus introduced himself, he wrote with a diamond on a window in one of her private apartments, "Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall;" which coming to her knowledge, she wrote under it, "If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all." Such gallantries were neither inconsistent with the fashion of the time, nor with Elizabeth's taste: whether they really occurred or not, it is certain that she now took him in some measure under her protection; and indeed he possessed all the requisites to captivate her weakness, as well as her deliberate opinion. "He had," says Sir Robert Naunton, "in the outward man a good presence, and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and to these he had the adjuncts of some general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation and perfection; for he was an indefatigable reader, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers, both of men and the times." These powers he found an opportunity soon after of bringing into action with the happiest effect, on the occasion of a difference which, having occurred during his service in Ireland between himself and the Deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, had been referred by a Council of War in that country to the Privy Council of England, before which it was heard in the spring of 1583. "I am somewhat confident," adds Naunton, "among the second causes of his growth was the variance between him and my Lord General Grey, in his descent into Ireland, which drew them both over to the Council Table, there to plead their own causes; where what advantage he had in the case in controversy I know not, but he had much the better in the telling of his tale; insomuch as the Queen and the Lords

took no slight mark of the man, and his parts : for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the Lords, and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply, and learn the way of progression. And whether or no my Lord of Leicester had then cast in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done no harm, I do not determine ; but true it is he had gotten the Queen's ear at a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands ; and the truth is she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all ; yea, those that he relied on began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation and to project his."

Whether it was with the view, in one who seems not to have abounded in prudence, of avoiding these jealousies, to gratify an inclination to project an enterprise which certainly belonged to his nature, it is now perhaps too late to learn, but Raleigh, in this moment of triumphant favour, and for several succeeding years, seems to have devoted his serious attention exclusively to maritime discovery and speculation. In 1583 he sailed towards Newfoundland, as Vice Admiral of a fleet of four ships, commanded by his brother Gilbert, one of which he had manned and victualled at his own charge, and named after himself. The expedition was most unfortunate ; and Gilbert, with two of his ships, was lost in returning to England ; yet in the following year Raleigh laid a plan before the Queen and Council for another, and, by a grant, dated the twenty-fifth of March, 1584, was allowed "free liberty to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands as were not actually possessed by any Christian, nor inhabited by Christian people." He now fitted out two ships for the Gulf of Florida, and the fruit of the voyage was the discovery of Virginia, which is well known to have then received its name from Elizabeth, and where, at his recommendation, she consented to the planting of an English colony, which in the spring of the following year was despatched

thither under his direction in a fleet of seven sail, commanded by his kinsman, Sir Richard Granville, who on his return captured a Spanish ship worth fifty thousand pounds. Even during this voyage he was actively engaged with Sir Adrian Gilbert, another of his half brothers, in an enterprise to explore the north-west passage, in which those straits which have been denominated from Davis, the ill-fated commander, were first penetrated. In 1586, he fitted out another squadron to Virginia; sent two ships to cruise against the Spaniards, which returned with considerable wealth; and joined George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in a less successful adventure to the South Seas. In 1587, he was still anxiously engaged in the establishment of the new colony, his interests in which he soon after assigned, with certain reservations, to several merchants of London; in the succeeding year distinguished himself in the great overthrow of the Spanish Armada; and in 1589 sailed with Norris and Drake to Portugal on the expedition then undertaken to restore Don Antonio to the throne of that country.

While he was thus engaged, favours and distinctions, whether he courted them or not, were lavishly showered on him. In 1584 he obtained the then envied honour of knighthood; was elected to serve in Parliament for his native county, as he was afterwards for Cornwall; and received in that year a patent for licensing the sale of wines throughout the nation and in the next a grant of twelve thousand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford. In 1586 he was appointed Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and a few months after, Captain, that is to say Commander, of the Queen's guard. Great estates in the western counties were afterwards bestowed on him by Elizabeth, particularly the manor of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, where he built, says Coker, in his survey of that county, "in a park adjoining to the castle, out of the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of much variety

and delight." In the mean time his public and private conduct seem to have been marked by the most perfect independence : he neither led nor served any party ; nor do we discover a single instance of his having used that influence which he certainly possessed over the affections of Elizabeth to any unworthy end, nor of his having endeavoured to increase, or even to maintain it, by adulation or servile compliance. On the contrary, his professions, and indeed his practices, were not unfrequently in opposition to her religious or political notions. In receding contemptuously from the ridiculous complexities of school divinity, he is said to have fallen into contrary errors, and to have become a sceptic, if not a deist. The Queen reasoned with him on these subjects, and censured his opinions with sharpness, but he disdained to disavow them. He defended the learned Puritan Udal, who had libelled the Hierarchy with the most virulent bitterness, and, when that minister was therefore condemned for high treason, interfered successfully to save his life. His interest seems indeed to have been continually exerted in the service of others, and we are told that Elizabeth once said to him, alluding to the frequency of such requests, " When, Sir Walter, will you cease to be a beggar ? " to which he answered, " When your Majesty shall cease to be beneficent."

In 1592 he sailed again on an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, with a strong force, raised by himself and others, to which Elizabeth added two of her best ships of war. It was prevented by storms from reaching its destination, and he returned, but his shattered fleet after his departure captured a Portuguese carrack, said to have been the richest prize that had ever been brought to England. The discovery of his amour with Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's maids of honour, occurred just at this period ; an offence, which, though he made the best atonement in his power by marrying the lady, Elizabeth punished by imprisoning them in the Tower for many months. It should seem that this severity was dictated rather by pru-

dence, and a sense of propriety, than by resentment, for he certainly received eminent proofs of the Queen's favour immediately after his liberation, yet it is held by several writers that the umbrage into which he fell on this occasion determined him once more to quit England ; while others, with perhaps as little reason, ascribe that resolution to the envy and jealousy by which he was assailed at home. It is highly probable that his motive was simply the acquisition of wealth to support his enormous expenses, for no man of his time surpassed him in magnificence. He tilted in silver armour, wearing a sword and belt set with diamonds, rubies, and pearls ; appeared at court, on solemn occasions, covered with jewels, nearly to the value of seventy thousand pounds ; and his retinue and table were maintained with proportionate splendour. It is in perfect agreement with a just notion of Raleigh's character to suppose that he wished to owe these luxuries to his own exertions, and his choice of the country to which he now directed his speculations tends in no small degree to favour that conjecture.

He had long contemplated the full discovery of Guiana, in South America, and in the spring of 1594 dispatched a trusty person thither, on whose favourable report he sailed in the following February, and returning in August 1595, described to Elizabeth in the most glowing colours the inexhaustible riches of the soil, on which he besought her to plant a colony. She refused ; but to console him for the disappointment, named him Admiral in the expedition of the next year, which ended in the capture of Cadiz, and also in that of the summer of 1597, which is so largely treated of by most of our historians, under the name of the Island Voyage. In both those enterprises Essex had the chief command, and it was in the latter that an unhappy discord arose between these great men, which perhaps accelerated the fall of the one, and was certainly pregnant with the more distant fate of the other. It was clear that the success of the plan had been sacrificed to their envious rivalry, and their misconduct was discussed at

home with unusual freedom. They returned, overflowing with mutual reproaches, to the disgraceful consolations usually sought by men so circumstanced ; Essex to become the leader of a senseless mob, and Raleigh to resign his independence into the hands of a minister of state. Tempted by views of gratifying his resentment, this great man became a dupe to the artifices of Cecil, who cherished him for the hour as a willing instrument to thwart the ambition, and undermine the favour, of Essex. Of his willingness we have indeed subsequently too frightful a proof in a letter that has been more than once printed, written by him to the secretary after Essex had been made prisoner, from which, amidst some ambiguity of expression, it may be inferred that he thirsted for the blood of that unhappy favourite. Raleigh was now flattered by moderate favours, and cajoled by splendid hopes. The management in the House of Commons of affairs in which the Crown was peculiarly interested seems to have been committed chiefly to him during the remainder of this reign. He obtained, in 1598, a grant of the pre-emption of Cornish tin, a privilege of great lucre ; was sent Ambassador to Flanders, with Lord Cobham, in the summer of 1600 ; and in the autumn of that year was appointed Governor of Jersey. Meanwhile he was fallaciously encouraged to expect the great and arduous post of Deputy of Ireland and the dignity of a Baron.

But Cecil's sole purpose was at length accomplished. Essex had been finally disposed of, and Raleigh in his turn became an object of jealousy and fear. His fortune now hung on the slender thread that supported the life of Elizabeth, for he was too firmly fixed in her favour to be shaken by any effort of malice or intrigue while he remained her servant ; but Cecil had not neglected to infuse bitter prejudices against him into the mean and timid mind of her successor, who on mounting the throne received him with coolness, and soon after dismissed him from his employments. Raleigh, in searching for the motives to this indignity,

detected the wicked baseness of the Secretary, and, in the first moments of a generous irritation, presented a memorial against him to the King, in which, among many other heavy accusations, he denounced Cecil as a main instrument in causing the death of the unfortunate Mary. The intelligence was received by James with indifference, but it naturally changed the aversion of Cecil into the deepest hatred ; while Raleigh, deceived, persecuted, and threatened, by the minister, and neglected by the King, threw himself into the arms of a small party, headed by two noblemen, distinguished only by their bitterness against James and his countrymen. With these, Brook, Lord Cobham, and Thomas Lord Grey de Wilton, he certainly in some measure engaged in that conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, the singular extravagancy of which is familiar to all readers of English history, but how far short his offence fell of treason, his trial, which took place at Winchester, on the seventeenth of November, 1603, will abundantly prove. The utter deficiency of evidence in support of the charge ; the courage, candour, and ready wit and judgment displayed by himself ; and the brutal speeches of Coke the attorney-general ; combine to render that document a record of one of the most curious and interesting juridical processes on record. He was however found guilty by a jury more barbarous even than his prosecutors, for when the verdict was communicated to Coke, who happened not to be in the court when it was delivered, he exclaimed to the messenger, " Surely thou art mistaken, for I myself accused him but of misprision of treason." He received sentence, and remained at Winchester in daily expectation of death for about a month, during which he appealed to James's mercy, and on the fifteenth of December received a reprieve, and was removed to the Tower, where he continued a prisoner for twelve years. There it is well known that he became an historian, a philosopher, and a poet, and raised a fame for almost universal science equal to his former reputation for arms and enter-

prise. The severity of his imprisonment was from time to time slackened, and on the twenty-fifth of March, 1616, he was at length released, on the intercession of the new favourite Villiers, some of whose retainers had been bribed by a large sum to move their master to that end. Stripped of his estates by attainder, the sport of his enemies, and timidly abandoned by his friends, nothing now remained to this great man but his admirable powers of mind and body, and that spirit of boundless activity which had ever distinguished both, and which the severity of his fortune had left wholly unimpaired. He was no sooner at large than he undertook a new voyage to Guiana, and James, tempted by the prospect of boundless wealth, readily granted him, on the twenty-sixth of August following, a commission, under the Great Seal, of Admiral. Raleigh, rendered cautious by injustice and calamity, was desirous to obtain a specific pardon before his departure, and consulted his friend Bacon, then Lord Keeper, who fatally assured him that his commission might always be pleaded fully to that effect. After long preparation, and an expense of more than ten thousand pounds, collected with the utmost difficulty, he sailed on the twenty-eighth of March, 1617. Treachery and cowardice combined to blast, together with the views of his expedition, all his future hopes. Through the vigilance and artifice of Gondamar, Ambassador from Madrid, and the base pusillanimity of James, his design was betrayed to the Spaniards at Guiana before his arrival, and he found a superior force in full array to receive him. He attempted to force a passage, and was defeated. "Never," says he, in a narrative which he published after his return, "was poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was : for being commanded by my allegiance to set down not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it : to name my ship's number, men, and my artillery ; this was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to his master, the King of Spain : " nor was this the partial complaint of a disappointed and enraged commander, for the

history of that time abounds in evidences of the justice of his charge. In this unhappy warfare his eldest son fell, bravely fighting. The news of his discomfiture reached London, and the terrified James instantly issued a proclamation, declaring that he had in his original orders to Raleigh expressly prohibited any act of hostility against the Spaniards, and threatening a severe punishment. Raleigh arrived at Plymouth a few days after ; was arrested on his road to London ; and, after two attempts to escape, was, on the tenth of August, once more closely imprisoned in the Tower. It is unnecessary to stain these pages with a detail of the monstrous perversions of law, and justice, and humanity, under the pretext of which the blood of this admirable person was shed, for it may be found in every general history of his country. After the solemn mockery of a conference held by all the Judges, he was, on the twenty-eighth of October, brought to the King's Bench bar, and required to say why execution of the sentence passed on him fifteen years before should not now be awarded ; defended himself with a vigour of argument and beauty of eloquence, which astonished all who heard him ; and was the next day, under the authority of a special warrant signed by the King, beheaded in Old Palace Yard, Westminster.

To give an ample and correct view of the infinitely diversified character of Raleigh, would double the extent of these pages. A general idea of the wonderful powers which distinguished it may perhaps be best conveyed by a few words of Anthony Wood, delivered with his usual conciseness and simplicity. "Authors are perplexed," says Wood, "under what topic to place him ; whether of statesman, seaman, soldier, chemist, or chronologer, for in all these he did excel ; and it still remains a dispute whether the age he lived in was more obliged to his pen or his sword, the one being busy in conquering the new, the other in so bravely describing the old world. The truth is, he was unfortunate in nothing else but the greatness of his wit and advancement. His eminent

worth was such, both in domestic polity, foreign expeditions and discoveries, arts and literature, both practive and contemplative, that they seemed at once to conquer both example and imitation. Those that knew him well esteemed him to be a person born to that only which he went about, so dexterous was he in all or most of his undertakings, in court, in camp, by sea, by land, with sword, with pen." For an estimate of the profound learning and exquisite genius which he displayed in various branches of literature, let me appeal to a few pages prefixed to a very late publication of his scattered poems, in which the strictest truth of criticism is adorned by the utmost force and beauty of expression. On the whole, it is not too much to say that Raleigh was the most eminent man of the age in which he lived ; an age enlightened by his talents, and perhaps improved by his example, for he descended to the grave with an exactness of moral reputation, not only unstained, but, with the single exception lately referred to, wholly unsuspected.

The printed productions of his pen which we have the good fortune to possess, for some of his works remain yet unpublished, are his celebrated History of the World—A Relation of the Discovery of Guiana, presented to Queen Elizabeth—Notes of Direction for the Defence of the Kingdom in 1588—The Prerogative of Parliament in England, proved in a dialogue between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace—Instructions to his Son, and posterity—The History of Mahomet—The Prince, or Maxims of State ; republished, with the title of " Aphorisms of State "—The Sceptic, or Speculations—Observations on the Magnificence and Opulency of Cities—The State of Government—Letters to the King, and others of Quality—A dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant—Observations on the inventions of Shipping, and Sea Service—Apology for his last Voyage to Guiana—Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollanders—The Cabinet Council, containing the Chief Arts and Mysteries of State—An Historical and Geographical

Description of the Great Country and River of the Amazons—Wars with Foreign Princes dangerous to our Commonwealth, or Reasons for Foreign Wars answered—Speeches and Arguments in several Parliaments towards the end of Elizabeth's reign—The Son's Advice to His Father—and the Collection of his poetical pieces lately referred to. Most of the smaller tracts here mentioned were collected by Dr. Birch, and republished in 1751, in two volumes.

Sir Walter Raleigh, as has been already said, married Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, alias Carew, of Beddington in Surrey. He had by her two sons; Walter, unmarried, who was killed, as has been already said, by the Spaniards in South America; and Carew. As the subsequent issue of Raleigh has, I believe, never yet been publicly noticed, some extended account of it here may be desirable. Carew married Philippa, daughter of Weston, and relict of Sir Anthony Ashley. By that lady he had three daughters, of whom Elizabeth and Mary died spinsters, and Anne, the youngest, became the wife of Sir Peter Tyrrel, of Castlethorpe, in Bucks; and two sons, of whom Walter, the elder, who was seated at West Horsley, in Surrey, an estate which had been purchased by his father, and was knighted soon after the restoration, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Rogers of Sandwell, in Gloucestershire, and left by her three daughters, his coheirs; Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Elwes, Knt.; Philippa, of Oliver Wicks, of Tortington, in Sussex; and Anne, married to William Knight, of Barrels, in the county of Warwick. Philip, the second son of Carew Raleigh, whom I find styled of London, and of Tenchley Meer, in Surrey, married Frances, daughter of a Mr. Granville, of Foscot, in Buckinghamshire, and had by her four sons—Walter, Brudenel, Granville, and Carew; and three daughters—Frances, Anne, and Elizabeth. Most of them were living in 1695, in which year all the daughters were unmarried. At that period our intelligence ceases.





1717

MARY CECILIA

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

1717

MARY SIDNEY,
COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

THIS lady, who possessed in herself qualifications bright enough to have rendered her name famous, and to have added dignity and ornament to the most illustrious blood, enjoyed also the proud distinction of being sister to Sir Philip Sidney. She was daughter to Sir Henry, the wise and worthy Deputy of Ireland, and president of Wales, by Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and seems to have been born about the year 1550. Her maternal uncle, the well-known Robert, Earl of Leicester, in whom we find nothing amiable but his affection for her family, negociated for her a marriage with Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and increased her portion by a large gift from his own purse. A long letter in Collins's Sidney Papers, from Sir Henry to Leicester, dated at Dundalk, in Ireland, on the fourth of February 1576, contains the following passages relative to the match :—

“ Your Lordship's later wrytten letter I received the same day I dyd the first, together with one from my Lord of Penbroke to your Lordship, by both whych I find, to my exceedyng great comfort, the lykeleod of a maryge betwyne his Lordshyp and my doghter, whych great honor to me, my mean lynuage and kyn, I attribyte to my match in your noble House, for which I acknoleg myself bound to honor and sarve the same to the uttermost of my power : Yea, so joyfully have I at hart that my dere chyldy's is so happy an

advancement as thys ys, as in troth I would ly a year in close pryson rather than yt should breake. But alas, my deerst Lord, myne abylyte answereth not my harty desyer. I am poore. Myne estate, as well in lyvelod and moveable, is not unknown to your Lordshyp, whych wanteth mutch to make me able to equal that whych I knowe my Lord of Penbroke may have. Twoo thousand £ I confes I have bequeathed her, whych your Lordship knoweth I myght better spare her whan I wear dead than one thousand lyvyng; and in troth, my Lord, I have yt not, but borro yt I must, and so I will; and, if your Lordshypp wyll get me leave, that I may feede my eyes wyth that joyfull sight of thear couplyng, I wyll gyve her a cup worth fyve hundreth £. Good my Lord, bear wyth my poverty; for, if I had it, lyttell would I regard any sum of money, but wyllingly would gyve it; protestyng before the Almighty God, that if he, and all the powers on earth, would geve me my choyce for a husband for her, I would choose the Earl of Penbroke. I wryte to my Lord of Penbroke, whych hearwyth I send your Lordshyp; and thus I end in answering your most welcom and honorable letter with my harty prayer to Almyghty God to perfect your Lordshypp's good work, and to requyte you for the same, for I am not able."

Within a few weeks after date the of this letter she became wife to the Earl, who had been twice before married.

She seems to have regarded with equal indifference the magnificence of Elizabeth's and the intrigues of James's courts, and to have devoted herself wholly to the exercise of private virtues, and the retired enjoyment of literary leisure. With regard to such characters the absence of detraction is sufficient evidence of moral merit, for in her time the practice of domestic duties by her sex was too universal to challenge particular praise, and it is the conduct of the worthless, therefore, that has been chiefly recorded. She had received the learned education which was then usually bestowed on

women of her rank, but attained to a proficiency which had before been seldom reached by any. She has left the reputation of having been mistress even of the Hebrew tongue, and a translation by her, from the original text, of several of the psalms, is said to remain, in manuscript, in the library at Wilton. Anthony Wood, and some others, it is true, have told us that she was assisted in it by Babington, who was the Earl's domestic chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester; but if it were so, the assertion will furnish no ground whereon to doubt that she understood the language; since no one who was not already known to possess a competent skill in it durst publicly to have assumed the credit of such a production. Dr. Donne, in one of his poems, speaks of these translations, and with more probability, as the joint work of this lady and her brother.

Possessing, with a powerful and masculine understanding, a considerable richness and variety of fancy, she fell almost naturally into the practice of poetical composition, of which she became passionately fond; but her prose, of which very few specimens remain, is better than her verse: more ornamented, and yet more graceful; more metaphorical, and yet more simple and intelligible. We have a remarkable example of this in the introduction to her translation from the French of Mornay's Discourse of Life and Death. The following passage, in which a fine moral sentiment is clothed in such justness and diversity of thought, and delivered with so much force and elegance of expression, is scarcely to be equalled among the works of the best prose writers of her time.

"It seems to me strange, and a thing much to be marvelled, that the laborer, to repose himself, hasteneth as it were the course of the sun: that the mariner rowes with all force to attaine the port, and with a joyfull crie salutes the descried land: that the traveller is never quiet nor content till he be at the end of his voyage: and that we in the meanwhile, tied in this world to a perpetuall taske; tossed with continuall tempest; tyred with a rough and combersome

way ; yet cannot see the end of our labour but with griefe, nor behold our port but with teares ; nor approach our home and quiet abode, but with horroure and trembling. This life is but a Penelope's web, wherein we are always doing and undoing ; a sea open to all winds, which, sometimes within sometimes without, never cease to torment us ; a wearie journey through extreame heats and colds ; over high mountaines, steepe rockes, and theevish deserts ; and so we terme it, in weaving at this web, in rowing at this oare, in passing this miserable way. Yet loe, when death comes to end our worke ; when she stretcheth out her armes to pull us into the port ; when, after so many dangerous passages, and lothsome lodgings, she would conduct us to our true home and resting-place ; insteade of rejoycing at the end of our labour ; of taking comfort at the sight of our land ; of singing at the approach of our happie mausion ; we would faine, who would beleieve it ? retake our worke in hande ; we would again hoise saile to the wind, and willingly undertake our journey anew. No more then remember we our paines : our shipwracks and dangers are forgotten : we feare no more the travailes or the theeves : contrariwise, we apprehend death as an extreame paine ; we doubt it as a rocke ; we flie it as a thiefe ; we do as little children, who all the day complaine, and when the medicine is brought them are no longer sicke ; as they who all the weeke long runne up and downe the streetes with paine of the teeth, and seeing the barber coming to pull them out, feele no more paine. We feare more the cure then the disease ; the surgeon then the paine. We have more sense of the medicine's bitternesse, soone gone, then of a bitter languishing, long continued ; more feeling of death, the end of our miseries, than the endlesse miserie of our life. We fear that we ought to hope for, and wish for that we ought to fear."

Her poems have never been collectively published, and many perhaps remain unknown among the anonymous pieces so frequent in the numerous miscellanies which appeared within a few years before and after her death. She wrote an

Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, which is printed in Spenser's *Astrophel*, and a Pastoral Dialogue, in praise of *Astrea* (Queen Elizabeth) which appears in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*: the one unworthy of the subject, and of her affection: the other, remarkable chiefly for strange conceit and coarse expression. A view of the four first stanzas will amply justify this censure, and the reader will not complain that the rest are omitted.

1.

- T. I sing divine *Astrea's* praise.
O Muses, help my wits to raise,
And heave my verses higher.
- P. Thou needs the truth but plainly tell,
Which much I doubt thou canst not well,
Thou art so great a liar.

2.

- T. If in my song no more I shew
Than heaven and earth, and sea do know,
Then truly have I spoken.
- P. Sufficeth not no more to name,
But being no less, the like the same;
Else laws of truth be broken.

3.

- T. Then say she is so good, so fair,
With all the world she may compare,
Nor *Momus's* self denying.
- P. Compare may think where likeness holds;
Nought like to her the earth enfolds:
I look'd to find you lying.

4.

- T. Soon as *Astrea* shews her face,
Strait every ill avoids the place,
And every good aboundeth.
- P. Nay, long before her face doth shew,
The last doth come, the first doth go;
How loud this lye resoundeth.

She translated from the French the tragedy of Antonius, and seems to have interwoven into it occasionally some verses of her own composition, but neither the play nor her additions deserve much consideration. Her longest work has been least noticed. It is a poem on the sublime subject of our Saviour's Passion, consisting of no less than one hundred and ten stanzas, a copy of which remains in manuscript, for it has never been printed, among the Harleian Papers. This singular production is equally destitute of plan or connection, and exhibits little either of pious reflection or historical circumstance. It is alternately bombastic and mean in expression: generally obscure, and frequently unintelligible; yet grand conceptions sometimes flash suddenly on us from this chaos. The following is one of the very few passages in the poem that can claim the praise of regularity either of thought or diction. It abounds too in a sweet and graceful tenderness.

I saw him faultlesse, yet I did offend him.
 I saw him wronged, and yet did not excuse him.
 I saw his foes, yet sought not to defend him.
 I had his blessings, yet I did abuse him.
 But was it myne, or my forefathers' deede,
 Whose'er it was, it makes my heart to bleede.

To see the feete that travayled for our goode;
 To see the hands that brake that livelye breade;
 To see the heade whereon our honor stooode;
 To see the fruite whereon our spyrite fedd—
 Feete peare'd, handes bored, and his heade all bleedinge—
 Who doth not dye with such a sorrowe readinge?

He plac'd all rest, and had no restinge-place:
 He heal'd eeh payne, yet liv'd in sore distresse:
 Deserv'd all good, yet liv'd in greate disgrace:
 Gave all hartes joy, himself in heavynesse:
 Suffred them live by whom himselfe was slayne.
 Lorde, who can live to see such love againe?

But who will undertake to dispel the more than Sybilline mystery which clouds the meaning of such lines as these ?—

There is a lacke that tells me of a life.
 There is a losse that tells me of a love.
 Betwixt them both a state of such a strife
 As makes my spyritt such a passion prove,
 That lacke of one, and t'other's losse, alas !
 Makes me the woeful'st wretch that ever was.

The truth seems to be, that Lady Pembroke as a poet was spoiled by adulation, and complimented into self-conceit and carelessness. A tribe of small and hungry wits anticipated the efforts of her muse by extravagant praise, and received the fruits of them with affected rapture. Among these we find the names of Harvey, Daniel, France, Lock, Fitzgeffrey, Lanyer, Stradling, and Davies. One of them gravely declares that he will not name her, because he will not “dishonour with his pen her whom he cannot blazon enough ;” and another calls himself the “Triton of her praise.” Bards, however, of a higher class eulogized her in more temperate strains. Spenser designates her as—

The gentlest shepherdess that liv'd that day,
 And most resembling both in shape and spirit,
 Her brother dear ;

and the severe and honest Jonson, in that inimitable tribute to her memory which, though already so often published, must be presently once more repeated, is, as well as Spenser, silent on the subject of her poetry. Even Sir Philip Sidney, who loved her to idolatry, and delighted to dwell on her merits, passes it over, I think, wholly unnoticed. It is well known that he dedicated to her his celebrated romance, which he wrote at her request, and entitled it therefore, “The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.”

She died at her house in Aldersgate-street, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1621, having survived her lord for twenty

years, and was buried with him in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, leaving two sons, William and Philip, successively Earls of Pembroke. Ben Jonson has immortalized her name and his own by this epitaph, which it is strange should never have appeared on her tomb :—

Underneath this marble hearse
Lies the subject of all verse :
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother :
Death, ere thou hast slain another,
Wise, and fair, and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.





DAVIDSON

THOMAS CECIL

FIRST EARL OF EXETER

1558-1623

THOMAS CECIL,

FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

THIS Peer, who seems to have been a man of talents at least respectable, and who certainly maintained always a most unblemished reputation, wisely and modestly contented himself with the reflected dignity of his father's splendid and spotless fame, and left to his younger brother the painful pre-eminence of emulating it in the exercise of the highest offices of the State. He was the only son of the admirable William Lord Burghley, by his first Lady, Mary, daughter of Peter, and sister of the noted Sir John Cheke, and was born on the fifth of May, 1542. His education, considering his rank, was probably but decent. His father entertained singular opinions on that important subject, and they stand recorded. In a letter to George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1575, Burghley says, "I wish your son all the good education that may be meet to teach him to fear God, love your Lordship, his natural father, and to know his friends, without any curiosity of human learning, which, without the fear of God, I see doth great hurt to all youth in this time and age." It is but reasonable to suppose that he trained his own children in some conformity to remarkable principles thus privately avowed to a most confidential friend.

Be this as it might, his heir attached himself to a military life. He was, however, returned a burgess for the town of Stamford as soon as he had attained the age of twenty-one, and represented that borough in two future Parliaments, as he did afterwards repeatedly the counties of Lincoln and

Northampton. In 1573 he was a volunteer in Sir William Drury's inroad into Scotland, and served with credit in the obstinate siege and reduction of Edinburgh by which it was rendered remarkable. An original letter written by him to his father, immediately upon his return from that expedition, may be found in the Cotton MSS., and seems to deserve a place here, not only because it exhibits features somewhat characteristic of the writer, but for the mention of that remarkable person, Maitland of Lethington, who, on the failure of his suit here alluded to for Elizabeth's merciful intercession, shortly afterwards died by his own hand at Leith.

"My dewty unto y^r Lordshipp most humbly remembrid, wth the like humble requeste of your dailye blessing boothe to me and myne, it may please yo^r Lordshipp to understand that uppo^m my comming home, w^{ch} was the vith of this present, I fownde my grandmother newly come to remayne here at yo^r Lordshipp's howse, whereof my wife & I doo take no small comforte. It hath pleased her to graunte for the bourding of hirselfe, hir two maydes, & hir man, hir tithe of St. Martin's, and the milke of tenne of hir kye at Burghley. Hir sight is almoste quite decayed, & withowt any hoope of recovery, so as necessitie hath most perswaded hir to beginne to give over the worlde, and so I trust the great quiettnes she shall receive therby wilbe an occasion of the prolonging of hir yeres."

"Uppon th' ending of the troubles of Scotland, I was in minde, withe the compagny of th' Imbassador to have done my reverence unto the yong King, so as by reason of his late dissease of the small pockes it was not thought a tyme convenient. The Rejeant's grace bestowed a hawke uppon me at my coming awaye, w^{ch}, for lacke of cariage, I lefte behinde me."

"It may please y^r Lordshipp, uppon my coming awaye, & after some tyme of discourse withe the Lorde Liddingto^m, w^{ch} onely tended to the assured hoope he repoosed in the

Quene's Ma^{tie's} mercy, & y^r Lordshipp's good meane, he required me, wth his most humble com[~]endations, to recom[~]end this his letter w^{ch} I send unto yo^r Lordshipp, and to accompagny the same wth my good reporte of himself, whoose life semith to be so deare unto him as I doo not mistruste butt he will promise inough ; howsoever he meanith to perfourme it, and therefore I remayne doubtfull what reporte to make. The beste is he is oratour good inough for him selfe, and in that respect I leave him to be his own advocate."

" Thus I leave yo^r Lordshipp to the government of Almighty God. From yo^r Lordshipp's House of Burghley the viith of June, 1573.

" Yo^r Lordshipp's moste loving & obedient sonne,

" THO. CECILL."

He was knighted by Elizabeth during her remarkable visit to the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth, in July, 1575, and took a part in the performance of the splendid masques and pageants by which it was distinguished. So, too, in 1581 he was among the foremost of the challengers, and acquired great credit, in the justs and tournaments which were exhibited at the Court to celebrate the arrival of the Queen's suitor, the Duke of Alençon. In 1585 he joined the little army then sent to the Netherlands, whether in the character of a volunteer, or with any appointed command, we are not informed, and, on the delivery to Elizabeth of what were called the cautionary towns, was appointed Governor of the Brill. He remained for a little more than two years in the Low Countries, and, soon after his return, still cherishing his warlike inclination, embarked in the great fleet which was fitted out to sustain the attack of the Spanish Armada, and was personally engaged in the celebrated contest of six days which terminated in the discomfiture of the assailants. On the fourth of August, 1598, he succeeded, on the departure

of his father, to the Barony of Burghley, and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1601, was installed a Knight of the Garter.

The affection of James to Sir Robert Cecil his half-brother, abundantly recommended Burghley to the notice of that Prince, who immediately on his accession, caused him to be sworn of the Privy Council, appointed him Lord Lieutenant of the County of Northampton, and soon after offered him an Earldom, a dignity which at that time he declined to accept. Collins, in his Peerage, has printed a letter from him, conveying that refusal, and addressed to "Sir John Hobart," whom Collins calls "Attorney General." Here is some gross mistake, which however cannot be corrected, as no reference is given to the repository in which the original remains. Sir John Hobart never was Attorney General. His father, Sir Henry, did hold that office, but he was not appointed to it till three years after the date of the letter in question, nor was his son John, or any other John Hobart, at that time a Knight. The probability is that it was addressed to some other person of distinction and that Collins misread the name. Of the genuineness of the letter in all other respects there can be no reason to doubt. I give it here as it stands in the Peerage.

"Sir John Hubbert,

"Your letter fownde me in such estate as rather I desyred three days ease of payne than to delyght to think of anny tyle of honnour—I am resolvyd to contente myself with this estate I have of a Baron, and my p^rsent estate of lyving, howsoever those of the world hath enlargyd it, I fynd lyttell inough to meyntheyne the degree I am in; and I am sure they that succeed me wyll be less hable to maynteyne it then I am, consydering there wyll goo owt of the Baronage three yonger broother's lyvings. This is all I can wryte unto you at this tyme, being full of payne, and therfore yow must be content wyth this my brefe wryting; and I give yow my very hartie thanks for yo^r good wyshes, and thynk myself

beholdyng to those my friends that had care of me therin ;
and so I rest.

“ Burghley,
this 12th of January, 1603.

“ Your assured frend,
“ THO. BURGHLEY.”

He afterwards consented to accept this title. On the fourth of May, 1605, a patent passed the Great Seal creating him Earl of Exeter ; and on the same day his brother was advanced to the Earldom of Salisbury, with a special reservation of precedence of him, which is said to have caused for a time some ill-blood between them. Their difference however was speedily accommodated, for the envy and malice excited by this simultaneous accumulation of honours on the two brothers, and the unlimited favour and confidence bestowed by the King on one of them, rendered it prudent for them to make common cause with each other. They were assailed by anonymous libels and pasquinades ; their merits undervalued, their very persons ridiculed, and their descent charged with obscurity. On the last of these points the good old Treasurer had always been peculiarly tender and tenacious, and the more because the antiquity of his family was really doubtful ; and his sons had followed his example. An original letter from the Earl of Exeter, curiously illustrative of this disposition in them, remains in the Harleian collection, and well merits insertion among these notices of the writer.

“ Coosyn Allyngto~,

“ Ther is some cawse of late fallen owt of one that gives reproachfull wordes against my broother, and therewithall sayd that it was a strange thyng that such a one as he, whose grandfather was a syvemaker, shold rule the whole State of England ; and, though y^e malyce of the party was towards hym, yett I must be lykewyse sensyble therof myself, being booth dycendid fro~ hym ; thirfor I have thought good to requyre you fourthwth to take the paynes to make search in my study at Burghley amo~gst my boxes of my evyde~ces,

and I thynk you shall fynd y^e very wrytt itself by the w^{ch} my grandfather, or great grandfather, or booth, were made Sheriffs of Ly^{col}shyre or Northa^{pto}shyre, and lykwyse a warra^{nt} fro^m y^e Duke of Suffolk in Kyng Henry th^e eight's tyme to my grandfather, and old Mr. Wy^gfyld, that dead is, for the certifying towchy^g y^e fall of woodds in Clyff parke, or Rocky^{gha} Forrest, by the name of 'Davy Cecyll Esquyre,' w^{ch} tytle at those dayes was not usyd but to such that ware gentyllmeⁿ of note, wher comonly they were entytled but by y^e name of gentyllmeⁿ. If you have anny record of yo^r owne to shewe the dyscent of my great grandfather I pray you send a note thereof lykewyse. My Lord my father's alteryng y^e wryty^g of his name makith many y^e are not well affected to o^{ur} Howse to dowbt whyther we be ryghtly descendid of y^e Howse of Wales, becawse they wryght ther names 'Sitselt,' and o^r name is wrytteⁿ 'Cecyll : ' my grandfather wrote it 'Sysself ; and so in ortography all these names dyffer, wherof I mervayl what movyd my L. my father to alter it. I have my Lord's pedegree very well set owt, which he left unto me. I pray you lett this be secrett unto yourselfe, w^{ch} my broother of Sallysburye disyred me so to give in charge unto you : and so I com^{end} me very kyndly unto your selfe, and my good awnte yo^r wyffe. Fro^m London, this xiiith of November, 1605.

"Yo^r very lovy^g coosyn and frend,

"To my looviny frende and
cosen, Hugh Allington, Esquyer."

"EXETER."

He continued, doubtless by his own choice, to live chiefly in a splendid privacy. In 1616 he was appointed, with some more Privy Counsellors, to restore the cautionary towns in form to the States General. He seems, towards the conclusion of his life, to have taken up an inclination to church-government, for in 1618 he accepted a nomination, with others, to proceed summarily against Jesuits and seminary priests, with authority to banish them the realm ; and in 1620 was joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in a spe-

cial Ecclesiastical commission for that province, and, towards the end of the same year, in another for that of York. He left some proofs too, not only of a charitable disposition, but of an affection to learning, for he founded and endowed a hospital at Lidington, in Rutlandshire, for a warden, twelve poor men, and two women ; and gave an estate to Clare Hall, in Cambridge, for the maintenance of three fellows, and eight scholars. He died on the seventh of February, 1621, O.S., and was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in Westminster Abbey, where a magnificent monument remains to his memory.

This nobleman was twice married ; first, to Dorothy, daughter and coheir of John Lord Latimer, by whom he had a very numerous issue. The sons were William, his successor : Richard, from whom the present Marquis of Exeter is descended ; Edward, a celebrated military commander, who was created by King Charles the First Baron Cecil of Putney, and Viscount Wimbledon, and died without male issue ; Christopher ; and Thomas—the daughters—Catherine, who died unmarried ; Lucy, wife of William Powlett, third Marquis of Winchester ; Mildred, married first to Sir Thomas Read, secondly to Sir Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, in Lancashire ; Mary, to Edward Lord Denny ; Susan, who died unmarried ; Elizabeth, wife, first to Sir William Hatton, and after, to the Lord Chief Justice Coke ; Dorothy, married to Sir Giles Allington, of Horsheath, in Cambridgeshire ; and Frances, to Sir Nicholas Tufton, afterwards created Earl of Thanet. He took to his second Lady, Frances, eldest daughter of William Brydges, fourth Lord Chandos, widow of Sir Thomas Smith, of Parson's Green, in Middlesex, and had by her one daughter, Sophia Anne, who died young, and unmarried.





Mirvet

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

OB: 1624.

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

OF the life of this nobleman, who was the third Earl of Southampton of his name, some pains have been of late years taken to collect the scattered circumstances. History could scarcely have avoided mentioning a man who had been deeply and actively engaged in Essex's singular conspiracy, and had suffered therefore a severe punishment, but it has gone little further. He was however not only the friend of Essex, but the patron of Shakspeare; more than one of whose numerous commentators, unwilling wholly to lose their labour, have furnished us with many miscellaneous notices of Southampton, which occurred in their almost fruitless researches on the peculiar subject of that patronage. He was a man of no very unusual character, in whom several fine qualities were shadowed by some important defects. His understanding seems to have been lively and acute; and his acquired talents united to a competent erudition, an extensive and correct taste for polite letters, and the most highly finished manners. His friendships were ardent and lasting; his personal courage almost proverbial; and his honour wholly unsuspected: but his mind was fickle and unsteady; a violent temper engaged him in frequent quarrels, and in enmities injurious to his best interests; and he was wholly a stranger to that wary circumspection which is commonly dignified by the name of prudence.

He was the second of the two sons of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and was born on the sixth of October, 1573. His father and his elder brother died before he had reached the age of

twelve years, for on the eleventh of December, 1585, he was admitted, as appears by the books of that house, a student of St. John's College, in Cambridge, with the denomination of "Henry, Earl of Southampton." He took there, in 1589, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and seems to have left the University in that year, to proceed on his travels. "He spent his time," says one of his eulogists, in a tract so scarce that I have never been able to meet with a copy, "at Cambridge, in the study of good letters, and afterwards confirmed that study with travel and foreign observation." The little volume in question is intituled, "Honour in his perfection, or a Treatise in commendation of the virtues and renowned virtuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroic Princes, Henry Earl of Oxenford, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Robert Earl of Essex, by G. M.," which Mr. Malone, whose abstract of some passages in the book I shall use in the next paragraph, supposes, on authority which he does not state, to have meant Gervase Markham.

He went with the Earl of Essex as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596; and in the following year was appointed to command the *Garland*, one of Elizabeth's best ships, and acted as Vice Admiral of the first squadron in the fleet that sailed against the Azores. In that expedition happening, with only three of the Queen's ships, and a few merchant-men, to fall in with thirty-five sail of Spanish galleons, laden with the treasures of South America, he sunk one of them, dispersed several others that were afterwards taken, and drove the rest into a bay of the island of Terceira, which was then unassailable. After the English had taken and spoiled the town of Villa Franca, the enemy, finding that most of them had gone aboard their ships, and that only the Earls of Essex and Southampton, with a few others, remained on shore, came down upon them with all their force, but were received with such spirit that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the rest obliged to retreat. On this occasion he behaved with such gallantry that he was

knighted in the field by Essex, "ere," says the author, "he could dry the sweat from his brows, or put his sword up in the scabbard." In these warlike services, the proper cradle for the friendship of such spirits as theirs, was nursed to maturity the earnest affection which these accomplished men ever after bore to each other.

In 1598, Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Southampton accompanied him thither, and on their arrival was made General of the Horse, "clean contrary," says Camden, "to the Deputy's instructions ;" for it seems that Southampton had, not long before, offended Elizabeth by marrying without that permission which, even so lately as in her reign, it was expected that the nobility should ask of the Crown, and had therefore been expressly excepted by her from promotion. She condescended to admonish the Deputy to displace him, and was silently disobeyed. The succeeding disgusts and intemperances of Essex are well known. Early in their progress he formed the project of returning at the head of a select party, with the view of reducing his adversaries in England by force of arms, and Southampton is said to have dissuaded him for the time from that wild attempt. They came home soon after however, privately and submissively : Essex was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper ; and Southampton retired from Court unquestioned ; and thus matters remained for several months, till at length they appeared together in open insurrection in the beginning of the year 1601, were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty by their Peers. Southampton's daring spirit was appalled by this awful process, and his defence was neither dignified nor candid. "He asked pardon," to use the words of Camden, "for his crime, which was purely owing, he said, to his affection for the Earl of Essex ; and, after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen, added that some proposals for seizing the Palace, and the Tower, were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the whole matter being referred to Essex : that what was acted was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, viz., their going into the

city, which was with no other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the wrongs that were done him : that his sword had not been drawn all that day : that he heard nothing of the proclamation wherein they were declared rebels : that he hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired that the cause might be decided by rules of equity, not the nicety and quirks of the law. He humbly implored the Queen's mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him ; and this he did," concludes Camden, "in so modest and becoming a way, as excited a compassion in all who were there present." Essex, who disdained to offer any request for himself, urged the Lords, with a noble earnestness, to interpose with the Queen to spare his friend. Southampton was condemned to die, and left for many weeks to expect the execution of his sentence, which Elizabeth at length remitted, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower till her death.

Few men ever experienced, through the peaceable transmission of a sceptre from one hand to another, a reverse of fortune so complete as befel Southampton on the accession of James. "That Prince," as Mr. Chalmers well observes, recollecting the intrigues of Essex, and the conspiracy of Gowry, "acted on his arrival as if he had thought that rebellion against Elizabeth was a rising for him." On the first of April, 1603, six days only after her decease, the King despatched from Scotland an order, directed singularly enough, "to the nobility of England, and the Council of State sitting at Whitehall," for Southampton's release, whom he complimented at the same time by a special invitation to meet him on his road to his new dominions. On the tenth he was set at liberty, and immediately restored to the estates that he had forfeited by his attainder. He was installed a Knight of the Garter on the second of the following July, and appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-first of the same month was legally repossessed of his titles by a new patent. An annual pension of six hundred pounds was settled

on his Countess : in the beginning of the succeeding year he was named Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire ; and the first bill which was read in James's first Parliament was for his restitution in blood.

Amidst this tide of favour some cause of umbrage occurred which is nowhere clearly explained, and towards the end of June, 1604, he was suddenly arrested, and, after a few days, as suddenly set at liberty. Mr. Malone, probably on the authority of the tract before spoken of, informs us, that the cause alleged for his apprehension was disaffection to the Crown, but that it arose in fact from the machinations of Salisbury, the great adversary of the Essex party, who had persuaded James that an improper intimacy subsisted between Southampton and the Queen. He was presently restored, however, to his wonted station, but the engagements of the Court were insufficient to employ his busy, and indeed turbulent mind, and, having vainly endeavoured to obtain employment in the State, in which he could not even so far succeed as to gain a seat in the Privy Council, he plunged deeply into speculations of traffic and colonisation ; became a member of the Virginia company, and was chosen Treasurer of that Corporation, which had not long been established ; and took an active part in the project of sending ships to the American coast on voyages of trade and discovery. Meanwhile he engaged in the coarse diversions of the town, and fell into the disgraceful broils which then generally attended them. Mr. John Chamberlain, one of the many agreeable newsmongers of that day, writes to Sir Ralph Winwood, on the second of May, 1610, " Indeed it were fitter that our Court gallants had some place abroad to vent their superfluous valour than to brabble so much as they do here at home, for in one week we had three or four great quarrels ; the first 'twixt the Earls of Southampton and Montgomery, that fell out at tennis, where the rackets flew about their ears, but the matter was taken up and compounded by the King, without further bloodshed." The taste for military affairs did in fact soon after recur on him ; he made more than one visit to the Low Countries, and

in 1614 accompanied the romantic Lord Herbert of Cherbury at the siege of Rees, in the duchy of Cleves.

In 1617 he attended the King in his journey into Scotland, and so far ingratiated himself with that Prince during his long visit to his native land, that the distinction which he had for some years solicited in vain was conferred on him soon after his return: on the nineteenth of April, 1619, he was sworn of the Privy Council. This gratification probably led to new requests, and consequent disappointments, now forgotten. Certain, however, it is, that soon after he had received it he joined the party in opposition to the Court, and exerted his talents and his vivacity to the utmost in thwarting the desires of the King, and the measures of his ministers, in Parliament. He now fell again into disgrace. In the spring of 1621 he had a sharp altercation with the favourite Buckingham in the House of Peers, which Camden has thought important enough to mention thus particularly in his brief Annals of King James. "March 14, there was some quarrelling between the M. of Buckingham, and Southampton and Sheffield, who had interrupted him for repeating the same thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved order in Parliament; but the Prince reconciled them." This affront however was not forgotten by the haughty Buckingham. On the sixteenth of the following June, twelve days after the adjournment of Parliament, Southampton was confined in the house of the Dean of Westminster, on the charge of mischievous intrigues with some members of the Commons, and afterwards to his own seat of Titchfield, in the custody of a Sir William Parkhurst. The following letter of proud submission, the original of which may be found in the Harleian collection, was addressed by him on that occasion to the Lord Keeper Williams.

"My Lo.

"I have found your Lo. alredy so favorable and affectionate unto mee that I shall be still hereafter desierus to acquaint you wth what concernes mee, & bould to ask your

advice & counsell, w^{ch} makes mee now send this bearer to geve your Lo. an account of my answer from Court, w^{ch} I cannot better doe than by sendinge unto you the answer itself, w^{ch} you shall receave heereinlosed, wherein you may see what is expected from mee—that I must not only magnifie his Ma^{tie's} gracious dealinge wth mee, but cause all my frendes to doe the lyke, and restrayne them from makinge any extenuation of my errors, w^{ch} if they bee disposed to doe, or not to doe, is unpossible for mee to alter, that am not lykely for a good time to see anny other than my owne famely. For myself, I shall ever bee ready as is fitt, to acknowledge his Ma^{tie's} favor to mee, but can hardly perswade myself that any error by mee com^{mitted} deserved more punishment then I have had, and hope his Ma^{tie} will not expect that I should confess myselfe to have been subject to a Starre chamber-sentence, w^{ch} God forbid I should ever doe. I have, and shall doe accordinge to that part of my Lo. of Buckingham's advice, to speak as little of it as I can ; and so shall I doe in other thinges, to meddle as little as I can. I purpose, God willinge, to goe to-morrow to Tichfield, the place of my confinement there, to stay as long as the King shall please. Sir William Parkhurst must goe wth mee, who hoped to been discharged at the returne of my messenger from Court, & seames much trobled that hee is not, pretendinge that it is extreeme inconvenient for him, in regard of his owne occations. Hee is fearfull lest he should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lo. writes to the Court if you would putt my Lo. of Buckingham in remembrance of it, you shall, I thinke, doe him a favour. For my part, it is so little troble to mee, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returnes I beseech you returne by him the inclosed L^r, & beleve that, whatsoever I am, I will ever bee

“ your Lo. most assured frend to do you servis,

“ H. SOUTHAMPTON.”

“ To the right honorable my very good Lo. the
Lo. Keeper of the Great Seale of England.”

On the first of September he was set at liberty. That the offence offered by him to Buckingham had been his only fault is evident from certain passages in two remarkable letters from Williams, both written on the first of August, 1621, which are printed in the Cabala ; the first in answer to that of Southampton here given, which concludes thus—“For mine own part, assure yourself I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue as long as you make good your professions to this noble Lord ; of whose extraordinary goodness your Lordship and myself are remarkable reflections ; the one, of his sweetness in forgetting wrongs ; the other of his forwardness in conferring of courtesies.” The second is to the Marquis himself, who, as we may infer from the following expressions, still continued somewhat vindictive. “There is no readier way,” says the Lord Keeper, “to stop the mouths of idle men than to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of justice, to behold nothing but goodness and mercy”—and again—“Remember your noble self, and forget the aggravations of malice and envy ; and then forget, if you can, the Earl of Southampton.”

For many months after his enlargement he lived in retirement and privacy, but on the meeting of the next Parliament appeared as the leader of the men of parliamentary business in the House of Peers ; was a member of all committees on important affairs ; and immersed himself in the study of the forms and privileges of that assembly. From those grave occupations he suddenly withdrew himself, to engage once more in active military service. James, compelled by the general feeling of the country to abandon his pacific system, in the summer of 1624 signed a treaty of defensive alliance with the United States, by an article of which they were permitted to raise in England a body of six thousand men. Southampton accepted the command of one of the four regiments into which that force was divided, and led it to its destination, where he had not long remained, when

himself, and his eldest son, the Lord Wriothesley, who had attended him on the expedition, were attacked by a violent fever, to which the latter presently fell a victim. The Earl recovered, and, when he had regained sufficient strength for the mournful journey, travelling homewards, with the young man's corpse, was seized with a lethargy at Bergen-op-zoom, where he died on the tenth of November, 1624, and was buried at Titchfield, in Hampshire, on the twenty-eighth of the succeeding month.

Of Lord Southampton's literature and connexion with literary men, little is known but from the doubtful testimony of poets of all degrees of merit, by whom he was loaded with adulation. Shakspeare's two short dedications, however, of the Poems of Venus and Adonis, and the Rape of Lucrece, addressed to him when a very young man, are exceptions, and are so strongly marked, particularly the second, with the simple features of private regard and gratitude, that there seems to be little room to doubt that such sentiments actually existed between them. Of this all other evidence is lost, save the assertion of Sir William Davenant, that Southampton gave to Shakspeare at one time the sum of a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a favourite purchase. We are informed also in the preface to the first edition of Minshew's "Guide to Tongues," that he had liberally relieved the necessities of that learned man. Of the eulogies lavished on him a mere catalogue would be too prolix. I will content myself therefore with inserting two only: the one, because it flowed from the pen of the serious and veracious Camden, who in his *Britannia*, referring briefly to those who had borne the title of Earl of Southampton, thus concludes his treatise on that county—"Edwardus VI. eundem honorem, anno sui regno primo, Thomæ Wriothesley, Angliæ Cancellario detulit; cujus e filio Henrico nepos Henricus eodem hodie lætatur; qui in primo ætatis flore præsidio bonarum literarum, et rei militaris scientia, nobilitatem communit, ut uberiores fructus maturiore ætate patriæ et

principi profundat :” the other, because it has been hitherto to be found only in a book of such extreme rarity that it may be confidently presumed that it now for the first time offers itself to the notice of modern readers. The nature and method of the little work in question, a copy of which, thought to be unique, is in my hands, will be sufficiently explained by the title—“The Mirrour of Majestie, or the Badges of Honour conceitedly emblazoned; with Emblems annexed, poetically unfolded; by H. G. 1618.” In this collection, under the arms of the Earl of Southampton, which consist of a cross between four sea-gulls, are these lines—

No storme of troubles, or cold frost of friends,
Which on free greatnes too oft attends,
Can by presumption threaten your free state;
For these presaging sea-birds do amate
Presumptuous greatnes, moving the best mindes
By their approach to feare the future windes
Of all calamitie, no lesse than they
Portend to seameu a tempestuous day;
Which you foreseeing may beforehand crosse,
As they do them, and so prevent the losse.

On the opposite page, to a biform figure of Mars and Mercury, encircled with the motto “In utraque perfectus,” is subjoined the following compliment—

What coward stoicke or blunt captaine will
Dislike this union, or not labour still
To reconcile the arts and victory?
Since in themselves arts have this quality,
To vanquish errour’s traine; what other then
Should love the arts if not a valiant man?
Or how can he resolve to execute
That hath not first learn’d to be resolute?
If any shall oppose this, or dispute,
Your great example shall their spite confute.

This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire, who long survived him. He had by her two sons, James, who has been already mentioned; and Thomas, his successor, that eminently loyal servant to Charles the First, and virtuous Lord Treasurer to Charles the Second, in whom the title became extinct. He left also three daughters; Penelope, wife of William Lord Spencer of Wormleighton; Anne, married to Robert Wollop, of Farley, in Hants; and Elizabeth, to Sir Thomas Estcourt, a Master in Chancery.





Vol. 5. n.

JAMES OGLETHERPE

1734.

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

THE slender notices that are to be found variously scattered relative to this nobleman's story will furnish but an outline which it is now too late to expect should ever be filled up. The writers of his own country could have little to record of one who had in a manner quitted it for ever in early youth, and the jealousy of those of the land to which he emigrated probably induced them to leave the events of his manhood in almost total obscurity. This has been the common fate of almost all the Scots who accompanied or followed James on his accession to the English Throne. If our historians could not reasonably find the means of treating them with scorn and vituperation, they passed them over in silence. Thus however we are enabled to draw at least a negative inference that our present subject was a man of fair character and conduct.

He was born in the year 1589, the only son of John, first Marquis of Hamilton, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Glamis, Chancellor of Scotland. The ever active loyalty of his father, and grandfather, the Regent Duke of Chatelherault, who had constantly employed the power with which their near propinquity in blood to the Scottish Crown invested them only to maintain it on the heads of Mary and her son, had greatly impaired their princely revenues, and James, when too young to estimate duly their services, had been made an instrument by his first, and most worthless favourite, James Stewart, in the further depression of this illustrious House. The young Hamilton was sent abroad in his childhood, and

returned not till shortly before his father's death, which occurred in 1604, when the King gave, or rather restored to him, for they had been some years before wrested from the family, the estates of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, in the shire of Forfar, and pressinglly invited him to court, where, soon after his arrival, he was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber.

He is said to have been one of the handsomest and most polite men of his time, and his letters, of which some specimens will presently be given, clearly indicate a lively and jocose temper. James, whom such qualities always delighted, even to fascination, and who was probably anxious also to atone for the share which he had been induced to take in the persecution of the Hamiltons, soon manifested an extravagant partiality towards him. "It is certain," says Collins, in his *Peerage*, but without quoting his authority, "that no person could have disputed with him the King's affection and confidence, the Duke of Buckingham excepted;" and he seems to have lived too on the best terms with the favourite himself. It was not long before he was sworn of the Privy Council, and raised to the office of Lord Steward of the Household: on the sixteenth of June 1619, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron of Ennerdale in Cumberland and Earl of Cambridge, a dignity which had never before been granted but to persons of the blood royal.

Nor were his services confined to the decoration of a Court. In 1621, a period at which the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland required profound judgment and address, James appointed him High Commissioner to the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the fourth of August, N.S. in that year. It was in this Parliament that those new regulations in the discipline of the Scottish Church, well known by the name of the five articles of Perth, from their having been concluded on in a general assembly held three years before in that town, were now finally ratified. The observance of them had hitherto been rejected by a multitude of ministers,

with all the pertinacity which so peculiarly distinguishes calvinistic dissent, while the King, with every good reason on his side, was not less obstinately determined to enforce it. The passing of the Act, which was voted but by a small majority, was mainly ascribed to the discreet conduct of the Marquis, and the submission to it which followed, to the well placed moderation and severity which he subsequently exercised. He returned to the enjoyment of increased favour, and on the seventh of July, 1623, was installed a Knight of the Garter.

Here, most unexpectedly, closed his brief and brilliant career. On the third of March, 1624, O. S., in the very prime of his life and his prosperity, he died at Whitehall, after a very short illness. When the news was communicated to James, who was then in ill health, he is said to have exclaimed, alluding also to the recent and yet more sudden death of another of his kinsmen, the Duke of Richmond, "If the branches are thus cut down the root will shortly follow;" and it was prophetically said, for on the twenty-seventh of the same month he himself expired. Arthur Wilson, whose reports, however, it is too often prudent to receive with some caution, gives the following remarkable circumstances of the Marquis's departure. "The Marquis Hamilton," says he, "died before our King, suspected to be poisoned, the symptoms being very presumptuous; his head and body swelling to an excessive greatness; the body being all over full of great blisters, with variety of colours. The hair of his head and beard came off without being touched, and brought the skin with them; and there was a great clamour of it in the Court, so that doctors were sent for to view the body; but the matter was huddled up, and little spoken of it: only Dr. Eglisam, a Scotsman, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been the author of it. The Marquis's son had a little before married the Earl of Denbigh's daughter, who was the Duke of Buckingham's niece, and yet this tie could not oblige a friendship between them,

because the Marquis was averse to the marriage. This distance, and other discontents, occasioned some tumerous discourses, which reflected much upon the Duke, but they never broke out in this King's time, being bound up close, as it was thought, more by the Duke's power than his innocency."

Now it is scarcely possible that Wilson's statement as to any enmity existing between these noblemen can be correct, more especially arising from the cause to which he ascribes it. The two young persons whom he mentions were married in 1620, and there are in the Harleian collection three original letters, on trifling subjects, from Hamilton to Buckingham, a short extract from one of which will be presently inserted, written in terms not only of the highest friendship but of gaiety and cordiality, the sincerity of which cannot be suspected, during Buckingham's absence in Spain with Prince Charles in 1623. I give the following from the Marquis to the Prince himself at that time, not only for some intrinsic curiosity which it possesses, but for the sake of the short passage in which Buckingham is mentioned under the title of "the Admiral."—

" May it plaes your Hynes,

" Your goodnes is the caus that in all my lyf I never studied befor hand what to say to you, my hairt telling me I nicht tell you without danger what it thocht, and now, lat it luk as God and you plaes, have with you in the old fachoun. Your Hynes' lettir gave me such comfort, for the wich God thank you, as helth eftar siknes, or welth eftar want, or a grant, eftar many denyalls, to a passionat lover. Such distress was I in, being jelous of your favour, that I longed to kno the caus why I was used with so much distrust, having my interes in your good sum degries moir thaen most subjects, and, tho bot for that, wold never have betrayed you to robbers by the way. This my curiositi, and almost mutinie, I am suir cumith from a passionat love, and so in justice may claim a pardoun by cours ; bot for your jorney itself, which

is now the filosoficall questioun of this Ile, I must say that many thinkis heir the good sukses dependis yeit a litill on chance. I am nothing of that mynd, for I know your Hynes' own curage and wisdoun, and the faithfull service of the Admirall, can maik those thair se thair advantage in your love. For my pairt, if any heir mistrust, as my Lady Wrothi's bouk says, that will not do gallantly, I shall gainsay it, if want of curage hindir me not, for I dar be bound, not only, in the French fachoun, body and goodis, bot body, and goodis, and honor to, upon your word ; and, in the maen tyme, prays God to preserve your Hynes, as

“ Your Hynes' faithfull

“ *Whythall*
xii April.”

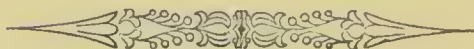
“ and humbles servan,

“ J. HAMILTON.”

The journey to Madrid was a creature of Buckingham's ambition ; agreeable doubtless for its novelty to Charles, who was however probably indifferent as to the result in contemplation. It may be reasonably inferred from a passage towards the conclusion of this epistle that Charles had shown little warmth in his suit to the Infanta, and the conjecture seems to be nearly confirmed by the following extract of a letter from the Marquis to Buckingham of the second of the same month—“ I besich you taik the painis* to tell the Prince, for I have not boldness anuf to wryt it myself, that I pray very hartely for him now I deir sueir he is a perfyte brave man. He wanted of old that one poynt to be of the fraternitie of fierce lovers, in which ardour God send him good luk. It is much talked heir whether it war good you cam home before the Prince or no : for my pairt, I know not what counsell to give, bot leaves it to what your ouin hairt and God Almighti will advys you.”

This nobleman married Anne, fourth daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn, who brought him three sons, and as many daughters. James, created Earl of Hamilton, and William, who succeeded his brother in that

honour, both of whom will be found treated of at large in the course of this work ; and John, who died young. The daughters were Anne, who married Hugh Montgomery, seventh Earl of Eglintoun ; Margaret, wife of John, first Earl of Crawford and Lindsay ; and Mary, married to James Douglas, second Earl of Queensberry.





CHARLES HOWARD,

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

OB. 1634.

CHARLES HOWARD,

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

OF his illustrious house, distinguished through the whole of an uncommonly long life by the unlimited favour and confidence of two sovereigns, and yet more by the most spotless honour and integrity, was the eldest son and heir of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham, (a younger son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk,) by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coyty in Glamorganshire. He was born in the year 1536. His father, who, among other great employments, had held those of Lord High Admiral under Mary, and Lord High Chamberlain to Elizabeth, initiated him when very young in naval service, and then brought him to the court. He possessed every qualification likely to gain the partiality of the virgin Queen; an eminently fine person and countenance; a sweet and frank temper; and a deportment at once elegant and dignified; and, in addition to these powerful recommendations, he was a Howard. They had their full effect; but Elizabeth, whose affections, violent, even to folly, as they might often seem, seldom interfered with her policy, because both were grounded in self-love, for a long time distinguished him only by a gracious familiarity: he was yet too young to be trusted, and remained without public employment for ten years after her accession, save a ceremonious embassy in 1559 to congratulate Charles the Ninth on his succeeding to the throne of France. At length in 1569 he was sent into the north, with the appointment of General of the Horse in the force then

led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and behaved with much bravery, and in the following year commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean. He was soon after elected knight of the shire for Surrey, and in 1573 succeeded to the peerage, and to his family estates, on the death of his father, who was at that time Lord Privy Seal, which office Elizabeth immediately bestowed on him, and before the close of that year, appointed him Lord Steward of the Household, and gave him the Order of the Garter. Several writers, who affect to look deeply into the political motives of that time, insist that he was thus suddenly exalted to counterpoise the enormous power of Leicester; but it is needless to seek further for the ground of his favour than to the Queen's personal regard, and entire conviction of his honesty and fidelity.

On the death of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1585, he was raised to the post which he most desired, and for which the whole character of his nature seems to have best qualified him, and became Lord High Admiral. The great design of the Spanish invasion was already suspected, and was soon after clearly ascertained, and it was in contemplation of the arduous conflict which seemed approaching that Elizabeth reposed in him this weighty trust. "She had," says Camden, "a very great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and she knew him, by the sweetness of his behaviour, and bravery of his conduct, to be skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem amongst the seamen of her navy." He applied himself to the vast preparations which had become necessary with a vigour and minuteness of attention which the whole kingdom applauded, and put to sea early in the spring of 1588. The Armada sailed about the same time, and, as is well known, was scattered by a tempest which Elizabeth's ministers believed had rendered the expedition hopeless; Walsingham therefore, to spare expense, despatched an

express to recall four of the largest ships, which the Lord Admiral ventured to refuse, requesting that he might be allowed to retain them at his own private charge. He then sailed to the coast of Spain, and having satisfied himself of the actual state of the enemy's fleet, returned to Plymouth, where he remained till the nineteenth of July, when, on the approach once more of the Armada, he again put to sea in haste, animating his officers by the cheerfulness of his courage, and his men by partaking with them in the bodily labour which the urgency of the moment demanded. The celebrated victory which followed may be honestly ascribed in a great measure to his zeal, his bravery, and his good judgment.

Elizabeth, always sparing of grateful acknowledgments, rewarded this service by the grant of a pension, which, as the amount has not been recorded, we may conclude was not extravagant, and the Admiral now remained for a long interval unemployed. The expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, a favourite theme of English history, again called him into action, and was committed jointly to himself and the Earl of Essex. It was eminently successful ; but Essex, admirable in all but coolness and prudence, blamed Howard for that caution in the conduct of it which his own rashness had rendered necessary. The Admiral, on the other hand, in a spirit of candour and benignity which always distinguished him, bestowed praises on Essex which perhaps were scarcely merited. He begins a letter to Lord Hunsdon, giving a full account of the proceedings of the army and the fleet, by saying, "I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is ; and I protest, in my simple poor judgment, a grave soldier, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed." Essex's censure was disregarded by Elizabeth, and not resented by the Admiral, on whom, in the autumn of the following year, the Queen conferred the dignity of Earl of Nottingham. Essex, who was at that time absent on what has usually been called "the island voyage," returned in a flame, because the new Earl, uniting to that title the

high offices which he held, had acquired the precedence ; and Elizabeth, to restore it to her angry favourite, conferred on him the office of Earl Marshal ; Nottingham, in his turn, now became disgusted ; retired from the court, and resigned his white staff, which, however, he was soon prevailed on to resume ; while the Queen at once separated the rivals, and bestowed a further gratification on Essex, by placing him in the arduous post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

These circumstances occurred in the years 1598 and 1599, a period if not of danger at least of considerable apprehension. Elizabeth, ever anxious to prove the affection of her subjects, assisted in exciting their fears for the safety of her person, and witnessed them with complacency. In the furtherance of this object she called on the city of London to reinforce her navy with sixteen ships, and her army with six thousand men, an order which is said to have been completely executed in the course of a fortnight ; and, to give an air of greater solemnity to her preparations, invested Nottingham with the supreme command of all her forces by land and sea, and with the rare and superb title of Lord Lieutenant General of all England. The return of Essex from Ireland, and his mad insurrection in London just about this time, gave the colour of an almost prophetic policy to her caution. Nottingham commanded in person the troops which surrounded Essex-house, and it was to him that the unhappy Earl surrendered, and was received with that urbanity and kind consideration which noble hearts ever bestow on fallen enemies. The gallant and sensitive Essex, charmed with this generosity, seems for the short remnant of his days to have taken his adversary even into his confidence : Nottingham frequently visited him in the Tower ; consoled him with the affectionate zeal of a friend ; and received from him in return a contrite acknowledgment of the injustice of his former enmity. He sat in judgment with the Peers, and evinced an earnest anxiety for truth and justice on the trial of Essex, and ministered gratefully to his departed spirit by procuring

from the Queen first a reprieve, and then the pardon, of his beloved friend, and fellow offender, the Earl of Southampton. Elizabeth's health soon after declined. In the singular aberrations of temper which preceded her dissolution, Nottingham alone is said to have possessed any influence over her conduct. She submitted at his persuasion to take nourishment and medicine, and to relinquish a strange resolution which she had made to sit continually in her clothes on the floor of her apartment. It was to him, in her last moments, that she uttered the expressions so often quoted concerning the succession to her throne.

James, to whom the family of Howard was even more dear than it had been to Elizabeth, retained him in the great offices of High Admiral and Lord Steward; placed him in the renewed commission for exercising the office of Earl Marshal, in which he had sat in the late reign; and appointed him Great Steward of England for the solemnity of the coronation. That Prince had mounted the throne with a determination to make peace with Spain, and the Lord Admiral was selected to act the part of ambassador extraordinary for that unpopular service. He had little experience in state affairs, but his age, his rank, his fine person and manners, and his magnificent profusion, peculiarly qualified him for a mission of ceremony to the most ceremonious court in Europe, for he had little to do beyond the ratification of the treaty. It has been said, that he solicited on this occasion for a Dukedom, but could not prevail, the dignity of his posts being esteemed sufficient to satisfy the Spanish pride. The equipment of his embassy was unusually splendid: he was attended by five hundred persons, exclusive of six young noblemen, and fifty knights; had an allowance of fifteen thousand pounds for his expenses; and received presents on quitting the court of Madrid to the value of twenty thousand, together with a pension of twelve thousand crowns; yet his charges in this excursion, which did not occupy quite three months of the spring of 1604, so far exceeded those various supplies as to require a large

additional sum from his own purse. His estate was moderate ; his expenditure had been always enormous ; and this last sacrifice to the honour of his country had painfully embarrassed his affairs. To add to his vexation, James received him coldly at his return, and at length expressly blamed him for having used that state and magnificence in his embassy which had increased his private difficulties ; but this umbrage soon blew over.

He was now grown old, and desirous of ease ; and his own native good humour, together with the solicitations of a young wife (for he had lately taken a second, when in his sixty-eighth year), easily converted him into a mere courtier. We find him no more in any public service, unless the conveying the Princess Elizabeth and her bridegroom, the Elector Palatine, to Flushing, in 1612, may be esteemed such. At length, in 1619, he was prevailed on to resign his office of High Admiral to the aspiring Buckingham. This concession seems to have been extorted partly from his necessities, and partly from his pride. It was purchased from him by an annuity of one thousand pounds ; the remission of a debt due from him to the crown of eighteen hundred ; and by a patent of precedency, giving him place according to the date of a grant of the Earldom of Nottingham by Richard the Second to his ancestors the Mowbrays ; and Buckingham presented the Countess with three thousand pounds. That favourite acknowledged his obligation too by peculiar marks of respect and flattery ; he ever after called the Earl "father," and bent the knee on coming into his presence ; but the whole affair was esteemed, even at that time, when such bargains were not unusual, very disgraceful to all parties, and most of all to the King, who ought to have prevented it.

This excellent old man survived till 1624, on the fourteenth of December, in which year he died, at the age of eighty-seven, at his house at Haling, near Croydon, in Surrey, and was buried in the vault of his branch of the Howards at Reigate, in that county. He was twice married ; first to

Catherine, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, by whom he had two sons ; William, who died before him, leaving an only daughter, the wife of John Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough ; and Charles, who succeeded to the honours and estates ; and three daughters ; Elizabeth, wife first of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, in Norfolk, secondly of John Stuart, Earl of Carrick, in Scotland ; Frances, married first to Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, afterwards to Henry Brook, Lord Cobham ; and Margaret, to Sir Richard Levison, of Trentham, in Staffordshire, Vice Admiral of England. His second Countess was Margaret, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, in Scotland. It is of this lady that we have the well-known romantic story of the Earl of Essex and the ring, a tale which might have enlivened the dulness of this memoir, and which should have been here inserted had it not been long since falsified by circumstantial proof of which no doubt can be entertained. By her, who survived him, and re-married to William Monson, Viscount Castlemain, in Ireland, he had two sons ; James, who died young, and Charles, who succeeded to the dignities on the death of his half-brother, Charles, without issue, and in whom, himself dying also childless in 1681, the Earldom of Nottingham became extinct.





JAMES STUART,

DUKE OF RICHMOND

OB. 1624.

L O D O W I C K S T U A R T ,

DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX.

THIS nobleman, whose character seems to have been as estimable as his birth was illustrious, was first-cousin, once removed, to King James the First ; for his grandfather John, Lord Aubigny, was second brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, the father of Henry, Lord Darnley, who had reigned in Scotland, in right of his Queen, the celebrated Mary. He was the elder of the two sons of Esme Stuart, first Duke of Lenox in that country, by Catherine, youngest daughter of William de Balzac, Lord of Entragues and Marcoussis, in Auvergne, descended from one of the most ancient and noble families in that part of France, and was born on the twenty-ninth of September, 1574. He succeeded to his father's dignities, among which may perhaps not improperly be reckoned the offices of Hereditary Great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of Scotland, in the year 1583 ; and we are told, by at least one credible writer, that James, on undertaking his nuptial visit to Denmark in 1589, appointed him Viceroy of Scotland during its continuance ; and declared him heir to the Crown—an inheritance to which, admitting all the latitude which the law of Scotland allows to collaterals, he had at that time scarcely a distant presumptive claim

He had passed much of the early part of his life in France, and in such estimation, that the King entrusted to him the command of his celebrated regiment of Scots Guards ; for his father, who had lived there at least as much as in Scotland, had been most confidentially and very actively engaged in

superintending the relative affairs of the two Crowns, and was at length in a manner exiled thither through the intrigues of Elizabeth with the enemies of Mary. Thus in some measure qualified for the office, James sent the young Duke ambassador to Henry the Fourth in July, 1601. He remained however but five months at Paris; and returning through London passed a short time in the court of Elizabeth, who entertained him with great magnificence, and apparent cordiality. He was the first, not only in dignified rank, but also in royal favour, of the crowd of his countrymen who accompanied James to England when he mounted the throne, and was presently distinguished accordingly: for on the second of July, 1603, he was invested, together with Prince Henry, with the Order of the Garter. The Duke of Sully, who now came on the part of the French King, to congratulate James on his accession, informs us that the Scottish faction, as he calls it, at the Court of London, was at the time divided into two branches, the one headed by Lenox, the other by the Earl of Mar, and that a reciprocal and inveterate hatred subsisted between them; not, as he observes, regarding political affairs, for none of them were "acquainted with the business of the Cabinet, and they were equally inclined to France; but merely from competition for the advantage in the King's favour." This, so far at least as it relates to the Duke, is undoubtedly correct. It is the only intimation that we have of his being ever engaged in any party. He gained the King's favour; enjoyed it uninterruptedly during the whole of his life; and was contented.

His embassy was renewed in the winter of 1604. John Chamberlaine, the lively correspondent of Secretary Winwood, writes to that minister on the eighteenth of December—"the Duke of Lenox is presently going in embassy for France; and though it be thought that his own business is his greatest employment, yet for this (his) countenance this place is imposed on him, and three thousand pounds to bear his charge." He was ill received at Paris, for when he arrived

there he found the court in the greatest ferment on the discovery of some treasonable practices of Francis de Balzac, Count d'Entragues, his mother's brother, and one of the most intriguing men in France. The same John Chamberlaine tells Winwood, in a letter of the twenty-sixth of the succeeding February—"the Duke of Lenox is not yet returned, but some of his forerunners are come, who report that he found but coarse entertainment, whether it were by reason of his uncle Entragues' disgrace, or upon complaint of the French ambassador here that he is no more respected, and therefore hath sent for his leave to be gone." He arrived in London a few days after.

In 1607 he was appointed High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, for some years after which date he seems to have moved only in the ordinary line of a courtier of his exalted rank. In June, 1613, he was again despatched to Paris, in the character of ambassador-extraordinary, to sift the inclination of that court on the question of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal of France; and on the sixth of October, in the same year, he was advanced to the English Peerage by the titles of Baron Settrington, of Settrington, in Yorkshire, and Earl of Richmond. It should seem that James had not conferred these honours on him with the readiness that his constant expressions of affection towards the Duke might have given him room to expect; for on the sixth of the preceding May we have again that agreeable court-gossip, Chamberlaine, writing to Winwood—"the Duke of Lenox had a pretence to be made Duke or Earl of Richmond, and so by consequence an English Peer of Parliament, and to that purpose had procured divers noblemen's hands to present to the King on that behalf; but, finding more difficulty in the presenting it than he expected, hath given it over for the time."

In October, 1615, he was deputed, together with the Lords Chancellor and Chief Justice, to examine personally the miserable Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset; and on the first of

the following month was appointed Lord Steward of the Household. In several succeeding years we have no intelligence of him further than that he was engaged in some of those commercial speculations which the great men of that time encouraged with a show of splendid patrician patronage, and a secret view of profit. An original instrument, undertaking the establishment of a colony on the banks of the River of Amazons, signed by himself, the Earls of Arundel, Dorset, Warwick, Clanricarde, and many others, with the several sums respectively contributed by them placed against their names, remains in the Harleian Collection, and it appears that he subscribed three hundred pounds towards the prosecution of this scheme.

He now abandoned all concern in public affairs, for which he seems never to have been much inclined, nor perhaps eminently qualified. It was probably therefore, (not to mention the sweetness of temper, and correctness of manners, which are said to have distinguished him) that he lived in harmony with all men, and all parties. With the haughty and jealous favourite, Buckingham, whom we shall see he was used to call his son, he appears to have been on terms of strict intimacy, even of affection. The following short letter, evidently written in 1622, while Buckingham was attending the Prince of Wales in his romantic visit to Madrid, however insignificant in itself, will tend to prove those facts. Some other originals, always in the same strain and with the same tender address, may be found in the Harleian Collection, from which this is extracted.

“ My noble Lord, and best childe,

“ I was verri glade to rec’ve your letter, and wth all of your kind beleiff and acceptance of my love and respects to you ; and, as for that last cause of my expressions of my obligations and loving respects, I will keep in store till I have the hapeines to see and imbrace you, having only told it to our olde maistre, whome God long presarve. By your last

despache you have filled all our hartes (I meane all honest harts) full of joye, for that we heire of his Heighnes' good and perfit healthe and the good despache of his wourthei desires, wth the appearance of his quike retourne, wth his full contentment. For my part, I still wische your stay and attendance upon his Heighnes, at leist till the mariage be perfitted, and that he be reddei to come away. I hoop long er you shall resave this you have resaved ane lettre of myne concerning this pourpos; so I will forbear to trouble you furder but still assuring you that I am for ever

"Your Lo.' most assured loving father and servant,

"LENOX.

"To my verie good Lord
the Lord Marques of Buckinghame."

At length, on the seventeenth of May, 1623, he was created Earl of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Duke of Richmond—an elevation which he survived but nine months. Wilson, in his life of James the First, gives an account of the Duke's death and the circumstances attending it in terms which could scarcely be amended. It happened on the twelfth of February, in the following year, the day appointed for the meeting of a new Parliament.

"The morning the Parliament was to begin, the King missed the Duke of Richmond's attendance, who being a constant observer of him at all times, the King, as it were, wanted one of his limbs to support the grandeur of Majesty at the first solemn meeting of a Parliament; and calling for him with earnestness, a messenger was despatched to his lodgings in haste, where the King's commands, and the messenger's importunity, made the Duchess, his wife, somewhat unwillingly go to the Duke's bedside to awake him, who, drawing the curtain, found him dead in his bed. The suddenness of the affright struck her with so much consternation that she was scarce sensible of the horror of it; and it was carried with that violence to the King, that he would not adorn himself to ride in his glories to the Parliament, but put

it off to the nineteenth of February following, dedicating some part of that time to the memory of his dead servant, who might serve as a fore-runner to the King, and an emblem to all his people, that in the dark caverns of man's body death often lurks, which no human prudence or providence is able to discover."

This nobleman had been thrice married, but left no issue. His first lady was Sophia, third daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie in Scotland; his second, Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Matthew Campbell, and relict of Robert Montgomery, Master of Eglington, in the same country. He married, thirdly, that remarkable woman, of whom some account is elsewhere given in this work, Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, and widow successively of Henry Pranwel, of London, and of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. The Duke, and his last Duchess, lie buried in Westminster Abbey, in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, under a magnificent monument, which was erected by her order.





W. S. 1622

FRANCIS BACON,

VISCOUNT ST ALBAN

(B. 1622.)

FRANCIS BACON,

VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

It has been determined that the insertion of a portrait of this wonderful man in such a collection as the present is indispensable, and the resolution may possibly be proper. Should it, on the other hand, be thought impertinent to add one more to the many engravings which have already rendered his features so well known to us, some apology for the supererogation may perhaps be reasonably founded on the excellent skill of two artists displayed in this new effort. Not so with the biographer. He finds that the character of Bacon has been long since placed in every possible point of view, and every lineament traced with the most critical exactness ; and he will rejoice, if he is prudent, to be spared the perilous task of adding a single touch. Conscious that he cannot safely venture to enlarge the scale of this grand picture, how much more forcibly must he feel the impossibility of reducing it to a miniature ; of discussing, to drop the figure, within the limits of a few pages the mysteries of a sublime philosophy, of a profound state policy, and of a character which presents the most awful example extant at once of human wisdom and weakness. Thus impressed, and with scarcely any view but to preserve uniformity of appearance in this work, I proceed to a detail, unavoidably cold and meagre, of circumstances merely historical.

Francis Bacon was the younger of the two sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, by Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony

Cook, of Gidea Hall, in Essex, and sister to the wife of the Lord Treasurer Burghley. He was born at York House, in the Strand, on the twenty-second of January, 1561, and educated under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Primate, in Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was entered at the age of twelve years. It should seem that it was not the intention of his parents to devote him to the profession of the law, for soon after he had left the University, he went to Paris with Sir Amias Powlett, and lived in the house of that minister during his embassy, on the affairs of which he was at least once dispatched to communicate personally with the Queen ; but his father having been prevented, as is said, by a sudden death, in 1579, from making the provision intended for him, he returned and enrolled himself a member of the society of Gray's Inn. Here he studied the common law with the closest application, and relaxed his giant mind by laying the foundation of his philosophy. He remained long at the bar, undistinguished but by his talents and his eloquence, and by the extensive practice to which they had conducted him ; nor was it till 1588 that he obtained even the degree of Counsel to the Queen, for he had cultivated a strict intimacy with Essex, the uniform rival, and indeed enemy, of his powerful relations the Cecils, who therefore in a great measure denied him their patronage. It is true that they gave him the reversion of an office of considerable emolument, the Registership of the Star-chamber, and this was perhaps the only instance of their favour ever experienced by him.

He waited, however, patiently till the year 1596, when the office of Solicitor-General becoming vacant, Essex and his friends exerted themselves to the utmost to place him in it. They were unsuccessful, and here we meet with a wonderful proof of the romantic generosity and grandeur of that nobleman's heart. Sympathising with his disappointed friend, and stung with anger at the slight which had been put on his own suit, he instantly determined to alienate a

part of his estate to Bacon, from whose pen we have a recital of the conversation which occurred when the Earl visited him to declare his intention. "After the Queen," says he, "had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor in my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twickenham Park, and brake with me, and said, 'Mr. Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another. I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance, yet you have spent your time and your thoughts in my matters: I die (these were his words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you.'" Twickenham Park, here mentioned, was the gift bestowed on him, including one of Essex's highly ornamented mansions, particularly celebrated for its pleasure grounds, which had obtained the name of the "garden of paradise." Yet Bacon, painful to relate, when that unhappy nobleman was some years after arraigned, not only pleaded against him at the bar, but at length published a declaration of his treasons with the view of justifying his execution. The nation shuddered at this ingratitude to its favourite. Bacon was universally execrated, and even threatened with assassination. He addressed an apology, which may be found in his works, to the Earl of Devonshire, one of Essex's bosom friends, from which the passage just now given is extracted; but the stain which he had cast on himself was then too glaring, and he missed even the sordid reward at which he had aimed, for Elizabeth's ministers, to whom he had thus sold himself, durst not admit him publicly into their councils.

By James, who loved learning better than morals, and sought for servants at once wise and pliant, he became presently in some measure distinguished. He was among the first to prefer his claims to that Prince's favour, and had assiduously courted the great men of both nations, and of all

parties, as well religious as political, to forward them. He had been long a member of the House of Commons, in which his exact knowledge of the temper of that body gave him perhaps more weight even than his admirable powers of mind, or his eloquence, and he rendered himself now essentially useful in forwarding there the King's favourite objects; for while he was, in fact, the confidential agent for the Crown, he had the address to persuade the house of his entire independence, and to strengthen that impression, frequently espoused measures which he privately meditated to overthrow. This practice, then a novelty in parliamentary tactics, remained long unsuspected; his rewards, which doubtless were considerable, were kept as secret as his services, and it was not till the year 1607 that he was at length appointed Solicitor-General; nor did that mark of royal favour tend to impair the confidence in which he was held by the Commons, for in the following session they made choice of him to represent to the King the grievances of the nation, and received with complacency a haughty answer because he had prefaced the delivery of it by a fascinating harangue. He remained without farther preferment till 1613, when, on the twenty-seventh of October, he obtained the post of Attorney-General.

It was very soon after that period that the memorable George Villiers first appeared at Court, and became instantly a favourite. Bacon was the foremost of the flatterers of his youth and inexperience, and Villiers, justly proud of the friendship of the wisest of his countrymen, and with sufficient prudence to discern the importance of such a counsellor to his own welfare, became earnestly attached to him, and resolved to devote himself to his gratification. On the ninth of July, 1616, the King received Bacon into the Privy Council, a distinction which it was not usual to bestow on Attorneys General; on the third of March, 1617, O. S., delivered the Great Seal to him, as Lord Keeper; and on the fourth of January, in the succeeding year, exalted him to the

degree of Lord High Chancellor. In making these several important steps he was assiduously aided by the influence which Villiers exercised over James, while his consummate policy in the pursuit of his own interests is almost without a parallel. A letter which may be found in his works, soliciting the King to promote him to the office of Lord Keeper, furnishes a curious instance of the craft with which he advanced his own cause, and undermined the pretensions of others, solely by appealing to the ruling foible in his master's regal character ; and this in a method so delicately covert and indirect that all his hints on the subject of prerogative seem to arise collaterally and incidentally. The following passage may be a sufficient example—"I hope I may be acquitted of presumption if I think of it, both because my father had the place, which is some civil inducement to my desire, and, chiefly, because the Chancellor's place, after it went to the law, was ever conferred upon some of the learned counsel, and never upon a judge : for Audley was raised from a King's Serjeant ; my father from Attorney of the Wards ; Bromley from Solicitor ; Puckering from Queen's Serjeant ; Egerton from Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's place. Now, I beseech your Majesty let me put you the present case truly. If you take my Lord Coke, this will follow ; first, your Majesty shall put an over-ruling man into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme ; next, you shall blunt his industry in matter of finances, which seemeth to aim at another place ; and, lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your Majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hobart, you shall have a judge at the upper end of your Council board, and another at the lower end, whereby your Majesty will find your prerogative pent ; for, though there should be emulation between them, yet, as legists, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best : he is no statesman, but an œconomist wholly for himself, so as your Majesty, more than an outward form, will find little help in him for the business. If you take my

Lord of Canterbury, I will say no more but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man, and to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height is fit only for a King. For myself, I can only present your Majesty with gloria in obsequio," &c.

On the eleventh of July, 1618, Bacon was created Baron of Verulam, in the county of Herts, and on the twenty-seventh of January, 1620, Viscount St. Alban. The great machine of the State had now fallen chiefly under his direction. James, who, with all his vanity, had too much good sense to slight the dictates of another's wisdom, submitted most matters to his judgment and decision; and a mixture of friendship, veneration, and deference to age and long experience, had brought the warmth and the caprice of Buckingham, by whom so much was governed, in great measure under his control. His sudden elevation in place, and dignity, and confidence, produced, however, more than usual envy, and aggravated the feelings of his enemies, who were many. The old party of the disgraced Earl of Somerset, which was by no means insignificant, detested him; Sir Edward Coke, with whom he had maintained for many years a constant rivalry and warfare, was his bitter foe, and ruled the opinions of a multitude. Bacon's attachment to Buckingham, which was invariable, had involved him in the unpopularity and jealousy with which that favourite was now surrounded; and the impartiality, whether proceeding from principle or policy, which distinguished his judicial decrees had excited the resentment of numerous individuals in the Court and State whose private interests had been affected by them. Hopeless wishes for his downfall had been secretly formed by thousands, for probity, as well as wisdom, seemed to secure him from all attack, when the House of Commons in the Parliament which met on the thirtieth of January, 1620, only three days after his reception of his new dignity of Viscount, appointed a committee to inquire into the conduct of the courts of justice, which, on the fifteenth of March,

1620, O. S., reported against him two charges of the grossest corruption. It was fully proved that he had accepted large bribes from two suitors in the chancery, and the turpitude of the offence seemed to acquire a deeper dye from the exceeding necessity of the parties, one of whom had been forced to mortgage an estate to furnish the requisite sum, and the other to borrow miserably of a usurer.

On the motion of Sir Edward Coke these charges were sent up to the Peers, to whom Bacon, who was, or feigned to be, very ill, sent an expostulatory letter. They answered him with respect and tenderness, and even manifested an inclination to believe him innocent; but on the very next day new complaints were made to them by the House of Commons, in which more than twenty instances were cited of his having taken bribes, amounting together to many thousand pounds, and the Lords appointed a select committee to take the whole into the most serious consideration. Bacon now threw himself on the favour of the King, and the influence of Buckingham. James, who is said to have lamented his wretched degradation, even with tears, admitted him to a long audience, and procured an adjournment of Parliament for some days, in the hope of devising means to soften his fall, but the only effect of the pause was to produce fresh accusations. Nothing remained but to submit himself to the mercy of the Peers, and, on the twenty-fourth of April, he made a general acknowledgment of his guilt, by a letter to the House, composed with admirable force and beauty of expression, which was presented by the Prince of Wales. The Lords, however, very properly insisted on his answering to each particular charge, which he did, on the thirtieth of the same month, confessing nearly all that had been alleged against him. He was deprived the next day of the Great Seal: and, on the third of May, having in the mean time received a summons to attend the House, which he declined on the score of illness, the Peers, in the simple form of an answer to the House of Commons, then standing at their bar to demand

judgment against him, sentenced him to a fine of forty thousand pounds ; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure ; and to be for ever incapable of holding any public office, or of sitting in Parliament.

His confinement was short. James, still anxious to receive his counsels, renewed a personal intercourse with him, and, on the twelfth of the following October, signed a warrant remitting the whole of his sentence, except the parliamentary prohibition, from which also he was at length relieved towards the close of his life. He retired, loaded with debt, and unable to practise frugality : such indeed were his necessities, that he condescended to sue for the office of Provost of Eton College, and suffered the mortification of a refusal. It is needless to say that his few remaining years were passed in study, but the greater part, and the most important, of his mighty works were composed during the period in which he directed the affairs of the State, and superintended the individual private interests of thousands ; a fact almost miraculous. Of those works, as has been already premised, it is impossible here to speak to any purpose : suffice it therefore to say, referring only to their extent, that they consist, according to his own division of them, of two hundred and forty-one distinct treatises, philosophical, historical, religious, and political.

Bacon died on the ninth of April, 1626, and was buried in the chapel of St. Michael's Church in the town of St. Albans. He had been married in his middle age, to Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, an Alderman of London, by whom he left no issue.



Z. 111. 111.

THOMAS HOWARD.

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

OB. 626.

THOMAS HOWARD,

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

JAMES the First, deficient as he was in almost all the qualities of a sovereign, possessed several virtues. He was naturally kind, grateful, and just ; but he knew not how, or cared not, to clothe those dispositions in royal dignity, and he exercised them with the unostentatious simplicity of private life. The great house of Howard, which had of late years furnished so many victims to the frantic barbarity of Henry, or the cruel policy of Elizabeth, became the first object of his care when he mounted the throne. Not with the view of strengthening his own power, for he found the family in a state of great depression ; nor on the score of favouritism, for he never entertained any member of it in that capacity ; nor to gain an accession of wisdom to his councils, since Elizabeth had bequeathed to him an ample choice of able ministers ; but in a beneficent desire to compensate for past injuries, and in gratitude to the memory of one whose life had been prematurely sacrificed to the cause of his unhappy mother.

The nobleman who is the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son of the illustrious and ill-fated person to whom I allude, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, by his second Duchess, Margaret, daughter and sole heir to Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden. He was born in 1561, and at the age of eleven years succeeded to the inheritance of his mother's estates. Elizabeth, with tardy justice, allowed her Parliament in 1585 to release him from the attainder in which his father's sentence had involved him, and he immediately embraced the

profession of arms, which at that time comprehended naval with military service. In 1588 he commanded a ship in the fleet which, under the orders of his kinsman, Charles, Lord Effingham, defeated the memorable Spanish Armada, and was knighted for his gallantry in that great action. In 1591, having been cruising for six months in the neighbourhood of the Azores, in company with four other ships, in the view of intercepting the Spanish plate fleet, his little squadron was unexpectedly attacked by a vast force which had sailed from Spain, with secret orders to convoy the treasure. In this unequal combat, of which an exact account is given by Camden, in his life of Elizabeth, the bravery of an English sailor never shone more conspicuously than in the Lord Thomas Howard, who was prevented from devoting himself to certain death only by the prudent disobedience of the master of his ship. He commanded one of the divisions of the fleet in Essex's expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, as he did again in the following year in a projected attack on the Spanish navy, in its harbours of Ferrol and Corunna, which was afterwards diverted to other objects; and in the end, owing to adverse weather, and perhaps yet more to the jealousy between Essex and Raleigh, proved nearly abortive. In all these services, however, his merit was highly distinguished; and, on his return from the last, Elizabeth gave him the order of the Garter, and about the same time appointed him Constable of the Tower. He had been in the preceding year summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden.

James, before he entered London, received him into the Privy Council; on the twenty-first of July, 1603, advanced him to the dignity of Earl of Suffolk; and soon after appointed him Lord High Chamberlain. It was this nobleman who, in the execution of one of the duties of that office, discovered in the vault under the House of Peers the materials which had been concealed there for the gunpowder treason; and the detection of that plot, so frequently ascribed to the King's

superior acuteness, arose, as is proved by one of the Secretary's letters preserved in Winwood's Memorials, out of the sagacious inferences drawn by the Earl and Secretary Cecil, from Lord Monteagle's mysterious paper. In 1613 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and in 1615, as he was again in 1617, nominated one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal. On the eleventh of July 1614, he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of England.

He held that great office scarcely more than four years; for in 1618 he was charged with having embezzled a great part of the money received from the Dutch for the cautionary towns, deprived of his staff, and committed, together with his Countess, to the Tower. The guilt was chiefly ascribed to the rapacity of that lady, and the Earl was in a great measure acquitted by the public judgment of all but the imprudence of concealing her faults. "The Earl," says Carte, an historian who always took great pains to discover the truth, "was in the general opinion of the world deemed guiltless of any considerable misdemeanour; but his Countess had rendered herself very odious by extorting money from all persons who had any matters to dispatch at the Treasury; Sir John Bingley, the Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, being the chief agent in making her bargains." Wilson, too, a writer never inclined to palliate the faults of James's Court or government, tells us that "the Earl, being a man of a noble disposition, though too indulgent to his too active wife, had retained the King's favour if he had taken Sir Edward Coke's counsel, and submitted, and not strove to justify his own integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of confidence till it was too late, for then his submission did him little good; but, his wife's faults being imputed to him, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and imprisoned in the Tower." But the negative evidence in the Treasurer's favour afforded by the total silence on the subject of the arch-libeller of that reign, Sir Anthony Welden, who was the bitter

enemy in particular too of the favourite Somerset, (the Earl's son-in-law) and all his connections, tends perhaps more to lighten the charge against him than either of the direct apologies above cited.

It is clear indeed, from the tardiness and moderation with which the proceedings against the Earl were carried on, that very little resentment was entertained against him, either by the King or the public. He was removed from his office of Lord Treasurer on the nineteenth of July, 1618, and immediately retired into the country, where he seems to have remained for more than six months. Between the twentieth and thirtieth of March, in the following year, he was several times examined, and obtained leave to go to his seat of Audley End, but without his lady. It was not till the third of August following that a full enquiry was ordered; and he was not publicly accused in the Star Chamber till the twentieth of October. On the thirteenth of November he received his sentence of fine and imprisonment; was committed to the Tower on the twentieth; released, after nine days' confinement; and received by James with kindness in the month of January, 1620. I find in the Harleian Collection, without dates, two original letters, hitherto I believe unpublished, from this nobleman to the King, which throw a strong light on several circumstances of his case. It appears pretty clearly from the first, which was evidently written at an early stage of the enquiry, that he had not till then entertained any expectation of being brought to trial; and this confidence alone affords no mean inference of his innocence.

“GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

“In this grevous tyme of my being barred from your presence, which to me ys the greatest afflyction that can lye upon me, and knowing by my former servyse to you the sweet and pryncely noble dysposition that ys in you naturally, together with that unmatchable judgment which the world knowes you have, ys the occasion that I presume at this tyme to lay

before your Ma^{tie} my most humble sute, which ys that you wolde be pleased to looke upon the case of your poore seruaunt, who after so many faythfull desyers of mine to do you servyse, (I do not say that success hath fallen out as I wyshed,) shoulde now not only have suffered for my weaknes and errorrs, but must be further questioned, to my dysgrace. I wolde to God your Ma^{tie} dyd truly understand the thoughts of my hart; and yf ther you could fynd one, the least, of yll affections to you, I wysh yt pulled out of my body.

“Now, to add to my meseryes, geve me leave to let your Ma^{tie} knowe the hard estate I am in; for I do owe at thys present, I dare avow upon my fydelyty to you, lytle less than forty thousand pounds, which I well knowe wyll make me and myne poore and mesarable for ever. All this I do not lay downe to your Ma^{tie}'s best judging eyes that I meane this by way of complaynt; for I do acknowledge the reason your Ma^{tie} had to do what you did; neither do I goo about to excuse errorrs to have escapt me; but wyll now and ever acknowledg your gracious favourable dealing with me, yf you wylbe pleased now to receyve me agayne to your favour, after this just correction; without which I desyer not to injoy fortune of any good, or lyfe in this world; which, in the humblest maner that I can, I begg at your princely feete, as

“Your Ma^{tie}'s humblyest

“and loyall seruant and subject,

“T. SUFFOLKE.”

He put in a plea, which indeed is virtually urged in this letter, of inability to pay his fine; and James, as Carte remarks, “perhaps rather to punish a distrust of his clemency, than with any strong suspicion of deceit, commissioned the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to enquire into his estate.” It has been said, that he had previously conveyed a great part of it to his brother, Sir William Howard, and his son-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury. It is very unlikely that such a transaction should have escaped discovery by the com-

missioners ; and it is certain that, if they did discover it, they abused their trust by concealing it ; for the King, after having received their report, mitigated the Earl's fine to seven thousand pounds. A very severe mortification, however, was still reserved for him. The Lord Howard of Walden, his heir, was Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and one of his younger sons held a place in the Prince's household. He was called on by the King to induce them by his influence to relinquish their employments, and on that occasion addressed to his Majesty the following earnest expostulation ; but James had determined to be obeyed : the young men resigned their appointments, and were presently after replaced in them.

“ MOST GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

“ Your pryncely favour in delevering me and my wyfe out of the Tower, must and shall ever be acknowledged by us with all humble thanks ; and now be pleased to geve me leave to be an humble sutor to your Ma^{ty}, that out of the tender compassion of your pryncely hart, you wylbe pleased to cast your eye upon the meserable estate of your dystressed, afflycted, and owld servant, now brought into feare of recovery of your Ma^{ty}'s favour ; and, so wretched my case ys as the little hope that remayned in me to lyve in your memory was my two sonn's servyse to your gracious self, and the Prynce. Yt is now requyred of me to impose upon them the resygnation of their places, which, wyth all humylytie, I beseech you to geve me leave to say, I wolde sooner use my power over them to wyll them to bury themselves quycke, than by any other way than inforcement to geve up their places of servyse, which onely remayns to me to be either my dying comfort, or my lyving torment. Besydes, they are now past my government, being both married, and have children ; only I have a paternall care of them, which I most humbly beseech your best-judging Ma^{ty} respectyvely to way how unhappy I must of necessitye think myselfe yf I should be

the perswader of that mysfortune to my chyldren, that ther chyldren within a few years wolde curse me for, either lyving or dead.

“Upon all thes just considerations, most gracious Master, geve me leave to turn my cruell and unnaturall part of perswading them to yeld to that for which I should detest myself to my humblyest desyer, upon the knees of my hart to begg humbly of your Ma^{tie} that whatsoever favor you have ever had to me for any servyse done, that your Ma^{tie} wylbe pleased to spare the ruyn of these two young men, whom I fynd so honestly dysposed in their desier of spending ther fortunes and lyves in your Ma^{ties} and your pryncely sonn’s servyse, as yf your dyspleasure be not fully satisfyed with what I have suffered already, that you lay more upon me, and spare them. I have written to my Lord of Buckyngham to be my mediator to your Ma^{tie} in this behalfe, which I assure myself he wyll nobly performe, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my means to your Ma^{tie} in obtayning this great begunn favour. To conclude, with my prayer to God that your Ma^{tie} may ever fynd the same zeale and love to your person in whomsoever you shall imploy that my hart’s sole affection dyd, and ever shall, cary unto you; which God knowes was and ys more to your Ma^{tie} then to my wyfe and chyldren, and all other worldly things; which God measure to me acording unto the truth, as

“Your Ma^{ties} humble subject and servaunt,

“T. SUFFOLKE.”

He was said to lean to what was called the Spanish faction, a charge indeed which was laid indiscriminately against almost all James’s ministers and courtiers. Here too the scandalous Welden, whose natural malignity gives to his very forbearance the character of praise, seems inclined to spare him, and to condemn the conduct of the Countess. “The constable of Castile,” says he, “so plied his master’s business, in which he spared no cost, that he procured a

peace so advantageous for Spain, and so disadvantageous for England, that it, and all Christendom, have since both seen and felt the lamentable effect thereof. There was not one courtier of note that tasted not of Spain's bounty, either in gold or jewels ; and among them not any in so large a proportion as the Countess of Suffolk ; who shared in her Lord's interest ; being then a potent man, and in that interest which she had in being mistress to the little great secretary (Cecil) the sole manager of state affairs ; so it may be said she was a double sharer ; and in truth, Audley End, that great and famous structure, had its foundation in Spanish gold." Wel-den, when he uttered this last malicious assertion, well knew that the Earl derived his means of building that palace, once the glory of the county of Essex, and still, in its present state of curtailment, a magnificent mansion, from the sale of estates in the north of England, then annually let for ten thousand pounds. The building of Audley End is said to have cost one hundred and ninety thousand.

The Earl of Suffolk died at his house at Charing Cross, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1626, and was buried at Walden, in Essex. His character has been but imperfectly handed down to us ; his enemies have found little to censure in his conduct ; and his friends have forborne to descant on his merits, probably in the fear of provoking those invectives which may be always so easily cast on the memory of a fallen statesman. His genius and his temper seem to have been such as to qualify him rather for warlike than political service, and he was a great favourite with military men. The author of the "*Honourable Voyage to Cadiz*," published in Hackluyt's collection, says "the Vice-Admiral, Sir Thomas Howard's exceeding great magnanimity, courage, and wisdom, joyned with such an honorable kind of sweet curtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me and my weaknes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull loving hearts of as many as ever had any maner of dealing with him." He was singularly unfortunate in his wife, and

in two of his children; for they were not only culprits of different casts, but their faults were such as made it necessary to expose them by public investigation; and these domestic calamities fell the heavier on him, because he was a most kind father and husband, and because perhaps they might be traced to a monstrous and perverted effect of his own indulgence.

He was twice married, but by his first lady, Mary, daughter and coheir of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, he had no children. His second Countess, of whom so much has been said, was Catherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, in Wilts, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich, one of the most celebrated beauties of her time. By her he had a numerous issue; of whom, Theophilus, his heir, who had been, during his father's life, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden, succeeded to the Earldom. Thomas, the second son, inherited the estates of his mother's family in Wiltshire; was created in 1621 Lord Howard of Charlton, and Viscount Andover, and in 1653, when attending Charles the Second in his exile, Earl of Berkshire. From this nobleman all the Earls of Suffolk, &c. since the extinction in 1745 of the male issue of Earl Theophilus, have been descended. The third son, Henry, inherited under the will of his great uncle, Henry, Earl of Northampton, a considerable part of that nobleman's large property, and acquired by marriage the estates of the ancient family of Bassett, of Blore, in Staffordshire. The fourth, fifth, and sixth sons, were Charles, Robert, and William, the two latter of whom were Knights of the Bath; John, the seventh, died young; and Edward, the eighth, and youngest, who was also a Knight of the Bath, was created by Charles the First, Baron Howard of Escrick, in Yorkshire; a lordship which came from his mother, as heir to her uncle, Thomas, Lord Knevet of Escrick, and which became extinct in his grandson. The Earl of Suffolk's daughters were Elizabeth, wife, first to William Knollys, Earl of Banbury,

and afterwards to Lord Vaux, from which marriages arose the long agitated question as to the legitimacy of her reputed issue by the first husband: Frances, the frightful circumstances of whose divorce from Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and subsequent marriage to Carr, Earl of Somerset, disfigure the history of the reign in which they occurred; and Catherine, married to William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury.





Zuccaro pr

EDWARD SOMERSET,

EARL OF WORCESTER.

OB: 1627.

EDWARD SOMERSET,

EARL OF WORCESTER,

WAS the representative, through a double illegitimacy too splendid to reflect disgrace, of the great House of Beaufort, descended from John of Gaunt. So little has been said of him by our historians and biographers, that were it not for the intelligence communicated by his own original letters, many of which I published some years since, we should be at a loss to form any just judgment of his character. We learn from those faithful records that he possessed not only a powerful and richly cultivated understanding, decorated by infinite politeness, but a familiar and easy nature, and a vivacity of temper, at once too frank and too delicate for the imperfect taste of the Court in which he flourished. With this sanguine disposition, however, and in the possession of those almost unlimited powers of self gratification which exalted rank and great wealth at that time conferred, his moral conduct was without reproach; and we need no better evidence of the innocence of one who stood so fair a mark for envy, than the silence of detraction.

He was the only son of William, third Earl of Worcester of the Somersets, by Christian, daughter to Edward, first Lord North. The date of his birth has been variously reported. The inquisition taken on his father's death, in 1589, declares him to have been at that time of the age of thirty-six and upwards, meaning, as it may be presumed, that he was then in his thirty-seventh year: but this is contradicted by the statement on his tomb of his age at the time of his death. If

we are to rely on the first of those authorities, he was born in 1553 : if on the latter, in 1544. He came into public life later than common, owing probably to the unusually protracted term of his father's existence, who reached the age of ninety-seven ; but he entered it perfectly accomplished. " In his youth," says Sir Robert Naunton, " part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times." Elizabeth, who never undervalued such qualifications, had however been prepossessed in his favour by one of her strongest affections—he was of her consanguinity ; for his ancestor Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, was brother to the maternal grandfather of Henry the Seventh. On the other hand his religious faith exposed him to contrary prejudices, for he was a steady Roman Catholic. " Although," again says Naunton, " there might appear something in his House which might avert her grace (though not to speak of my Lord himself but with due reverence and honour) I mean contrariety, or suspicion, in religion, yet the Queen ever respected this House, and principally this noble Lord : " and Lloyd, with an agreeable quaintness, tells us that, " his mistress excused his faith, which was Popish, and honoured his faithfulness, which was Roman ; " and adds that " it was her usual speech that my Lord of Worcester had reconciled what she thought inconsistent, a stiff Papist to a good subject." She called him to her Privy Council ; sent him in 1591 Ambassador to Scotland, to congratulate the King on his marriage with Anne of Denmark ; and in 1601 appointed him Master of the Horse.

James continued him in that dignified office ; and it is highly probable that he would have appeared publicly in the envied and unstable character of favourite, but for his own prudent forbearance. To a judgment in public affairs not less sober than acute, he joined the strictest integrity and the closest application ; but, above all, he alone, in the whole circle of that Prince's servants, either in the Cabinet, or the Court, seems to have possessed equally the means and the inclina-

tion of administering to the comforts of his master. He not only led the chace with vigour, graced and animated the ball by his elegance and activity, and enlivened the King's more private parties by the good sense and good humour of his conversation, but he appears to have managed during James's long and frequent intervals of absence from his capital the most part of that Prince's confidential correspondence with his ministers. To support and illustrate the view which I have here ventured to take of many features of his character, I will insert two of his letters ; the first, to the Privy Council, in the grave spirit of ministerial communication ; the second, to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, written with the unreserved familiarity of private friendship, and the lively and careless jocoseness of an accomplished courtier.

“ It may pleas your LL. to be advertesed, your letters to mee directed, signifying the great comfort youe have taken in that wth I wrote of his Ma'. gracious acceptation of your payns in his service during the tyme of his absence, I thought best to present to his Ma'. owne vewe ; the rather bycawse I cowld not by my speeche take uppon mee to express so lively as your own style dothe represent, the hartines and zeale wherewth youe signifie your inward contentment : and if I thought myself not able to expresse your conceyts to him, much lesse am I to retorne his to youe wth ayny language that may sufficiently represent a true image of his noble and princely hert towards youe in the gracious construction he maks of all your proceedings. May it therefore suffice your LL. the rather that yt pleasethe his Ma. to affirm that he accownts a great part of his happyness to consist in your loyaltees, wysdoms, and paynfull service, wherein he would willingly beare his part, and by his presence amongst youe make his own and your comfort the greater, yf his healthe did not necessarily requier thes recreations ; wth, notwithstanding, he wyll readily leave, whensoever any advertesment from your LL. shall signify that there is cawse

In the mean tyme, as he easethe himself in your travayles, so dothe hee wyshe youe to take an assured comfort in his gracious acceptance of them.

“ And now, my honourable LL. geve me leave not onely wth comfort to take notice of your honorable acceptance of my poor endeavors, but wth humble thanks to acknowledge the increase of my bond of duty and affection towards youe. Notwithstanding I knowe the have been accompanied wth many errors, and more imperfections, yet suche are your honorable dispositions as not onely to conceale and shaddow them, but to make a favorable interpretation of that wth many ways deserved reprehension ; but my zeal to his Ma'. service, and dutiful endeavors to gyve your LL. satisfaction, shall plead for a qualification of the veniall faults of,

“ Your LL.' humbly to command,

“ *Thetforde, the 1 of Marche, 1604.* “ E. WORCESTER.”

“ I have lately receyved 2 letters from your good Lo. wherein youe have not onely requited my former wth kind thankfulness, but satisfied in number of lynes to the full, so y^t there is lytell expectation that youe will bee in my dett Truly whensoever I wrote youe a short letter yt was eyther for want of matter, or hastye opportunitie of the messenger, which being lothe to lett pass, chose rather to wryght a littell then nothing at all. Agayn, mayny times wee may have newes of some accydent or other, and before I shall understand of a conveyent messenger my news wylbee stale, and then I omytt it. Lastly, urgent busynes of my own (being subject to howlerly attendance, as youe knowe) cawsethe me often, thowgh unwyllingly, to neglect oportunitie ; and so de hac re satis dictū est.

“ Nowe, my good Lord, to awnswer your last desier ; yt is verie certeyn that his Ma. hath resolved that the Parliament shall begyn the 19 of Marche, and that he will shortly remove to Whithall, but goethe to Royston to hunt, while in the meane space the Queen may remove, and the howsowld, and

himself to retorn thether : from thence to the Tower the 12 of March ; the 15 to pass thorowgh London to Whithall, wthowt ayny feast at all ; and this is more then certainly cold bee told you, for this day yt was decreed. It is lykewyse resolved that every man shall weare what apparell himself listeth, and we here resolve to ryde uppon footclothes, som of one color, som of another, as they lyke ; but the most that I heare of are of purple velvet imbroidered, as fayr as theyr purse wyll afford meanes. The great Ladys are appoynted to ryde in chariots ; the Baronesses on horsebake, and they that have no sadells from the King must provide of theyr own : the number provided are 20, w^{ch} were provided against the coronation, of crimson velvet ; and this is all I can advertes youe for that matter.

Whereas youer Lo. sayethe youe wear never perticularly advertesed of the maske, I have been at 6^d charge wth youe to send youe the booke, w^{ch} wyll enform youe better then I can, having noted the names of the ladyes applyed to eche goddess ; and, for the other, I would lykewyse have sent youe the ballet, yf I cowld have got yt for money ; but these bookes, as I heare, are all cawled in, and in truthe I wyll not take uppon me to set that downe w^{ch} wyser then my self doe not understand. This day the King dined abrode wth the Florentine Imbassadore, who takethe now his leave very shortly ; he was wth the King at the play at nyght, and sooped wth my Lady Ritche in her chamber. The Frenche Queen, as yt is reported, hathe sent to owr Queen a very fyne present, but not yet delyvered, in regard she was not well thes 2 dayes, and cam not abrode, therfor I cannot advertess the perticulers ; but, as I heare, one part is a cabanet, very cunningly wrowght, and inlayed all over wth muske and amber grease, w^{ch} makethe a sweet savor ; and in every box a severall present of flowers for head tying, and juells. She hath lykewyse sent to dyverse cowncellors fayr presents of juells, & to mayny ladyes : some to those abowt the King, as S^r Thomas Earskin, S^r James Hey, and others. What the

meaning is I cannot conceyve as yet, but tyme wyll discover that wth rarenes maketh a wonder.

Now, having doon wth matters of state, I must a little towche the feminine comon welthe, that agaynst youer coming youe bee not altogether like an ignorant countrey fellow. First, youe must knowe we have ladyes of divers degrees of favor; some for the privat chamber, some for the drawing chamber, some for bedchamber, and some for neither certeyn, and of this number is onely my La. Arbella, and my wife. My Lady of Bedford howldethe fast to the bedchamber; my Lady Harford would fayn, but her husband hathe cawled her home: my Lady of Derbee the yonger, the Lady Suffolke, Ritche, Nottingham, Susan, Walsingham, and, of late, the Lady Sothewell, for the drawing chamber: all the rest for the private chamber, when they are not shutt owt, for mayny times the dores are lokt: but the plotting and mallice amongst them is sutch that I thinke envy hathe teyed an invisibl snake abowt most of ther neks to sting one another to deathe. For the presence there are nowe 5 maids; Cary, Myddellmore, Woodhouse, Gargrave, Roper; the sixt is determyned, but not come: God send them good fortune, for as yet they have no mother. It is confidently reported that my Lady Sothwell shall mary the Master of Orkney, and yt is more then reported that S^r Thomas Erskins hath married S^r Edward Noris his rytche wyddow. And so, presenting my service to my honorable Lady, wyshe youe both a happye arryvall at London shortly: in the mean tyme I wyll rest

Your Lo.' most affectionate true freend,

Court, 2 of Fe. 1603.

E. WORCESTER."

In 1604 he was constituted one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal, and was soon after invested with the order of the Garter. He held his post of Master of the Horse till 1615, and on his resignation of it in that year was appointed Lord Privy Seal, of which office he had soon after a new grant, with the enormous salary, considering the

annually. He was now growing old. "When years," writes Sir Robert Naunton, in the conclusion of his short character of this nobleman, "had abated his exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor, and as I have placed him last, so he was the last liver of all the servants of Queen Elizabeth's favour; and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rest; and, for himself, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, he died rich, and in a peaceable old age; a fate, that I make the last, and none of the slightest observations, which befel not many of the rest, for they expired like unto lights blown out with the snuff stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with offence to the standers by." He departed at his house in the Strand, Westminster, on the third of March, 1627, and was buried in St. Mary's Chapel, in Windsor Castle.

The Earl of Worcester married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had eight sons and seven daughters: William, Lord Herbert, who died unmarried in his father's lifetime; Henry, who succeeded to the honours, whom Charles the First, in reward of his unshaken fidelity, created Marquis of Worcester, and from whom the Duke of Beaufort is lineally descended; Thomas, a Knight of the Bath, created in 1626 Viscount Somerset, of Cashel, in Ireland, and died without male issue; Charles, Francis, and Christopher, who died infants; another Charles, likewise a Knight of the Bath, who married, and left three daughters, his co-heirs; and Edward, a third Knight of the Bath, who also married, but died childless. The daughters were Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Guildford, of Hemsted, in Kent; Catherine, to William Lord Petre; Anne, to Sir Edward Winter, of Lidney, in Gloucestershire; Frances, to William, son and heir to William Morgan, of Llanternam, in the county of Montgomery; Mary, who died an infant; Blanche, wife of Thomas, eldest son of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour; and a second Catherine, married to Thomas, Lord Windsor.





Montagu 11x.

MARY BEDFORD,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

(B. 1627.)

LUCY HARINGTON,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

THE memory of this remarkable woman resides chiefly in the airy regions of poetry. Her character, through a strange envious perverseness, seems to have been undervalued merely because she was in her time the object of almost universal praise by those who were best qualified to judge of genius, as well as to express that judgment. Men of talents and taste in our day have condescended, for the sake of abusing her, to fall into the proverbial nonsense that poets can only lie and flatter. Grainger, in whose very agreeable book we may frequently, as in this instance, trace the peculiarities of another mind and pen, tells us that she purchased all their complaisance with money: that "they, in return, were as lavish of their incense;" and that, "upon a moderate calculation, she paid them as much for their panegyrics as Octavia did Virgil for his encomium on Marcellus." Pennant, in mentioning a portrait of her with which he chanced to meet, calls her that "fantastic lady;" charges her with vanity and extravagance; and speaks scornfully of the Earl, her husband, because he endured her. Thus these gentlemen have bestowed perhaps more imagination, not to say fiction, on their sober prose, than she received at the hands of all her poets; for certain it is that they could not have cited a single fact in proof of their invectives.

She was the elder of the two daughters of John, first Lord Harington of Exton, by Anne, daughter and sole heir of

Robert Kelway, Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Her only surviving brother, the friend and favourite of Henry Prince of Wales, in whom the title became extinct, dying unmarried six months after he had succeeded to it, she became heir, under a settlement made by him on his death-bed, to two-thirds of his great estates. He was probably the youngest, and she the first-born, of a very numerous issue; for he had scarcely reached the 22nd year of his age in 1613, when he died, and she had then been the wife of Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, for nearly nineteen years. She was married at Stepney in Middlesex, on the twelfth of December, 1594, to that nobleman, who, on the third of May, 1627, left her a childless widow, in the uncontrolled possession of immense wealth. Her inclinations, which indeed had never been severely curbed by him, for he was an easy good-tempered man, were now indulged to the utmost. Her great ambition, as it is said, was to establish a character so rare in her day that it had not yet acquired a distinct denomination; the character, as we should now call it, of a woman of taste: but ambition, whose natural aim is at general admiration and respect, seeks them in the rooted prejudices of mankind, and not in the practice of untried novelties. Patronesses to authors were not wanting among the women of rank who were the Countess of Bedford's contemporaries, but their protection was almost exclusively enjoyed by scholars, and devout writers; hers was confined to poets. The management of the garden and the orchard was then no insignificant part of a lady's education, but its great object was the supply of the table, and its utmost refinement consisted in the composition of the winter sweet pot; she added the elegances of fancy to the uses of horticulture, and may, perhaps with justice, be placed among the first improvers of the English pleasure garden. It may indeed be fairly presumed that she was mistress of both; for Sir William Temple, in his Essay on the Gardens of Epicurus, celebrates her for projecting "the most perfect figure of a garden" that he had ever seen, at

Moor Park, in Surrey, where she once resided; and an Italian, Giacomo Castelvetro, dedicated to her a treatise which may be found in MS. in Sir Joseph Banks's library, intituled "Brieve Racconto di tutte le Radici, di tutte l'Herbe, & di tutti i Frutti, che crudi o cotti in Italia si mangiano." She was well read, at least, in the learned languages, and so were many other ladies of her time, but in her application of that accomplishment she was distinguished from all others. We have the same authority for both those assertions—Sir Thomas Roe addressed a letter to her as one skilled in ancient medals. Thus she may be said to have invented her occupations and her amusements. It is perhaps therefore that historians and biographers have passed her by in silence, and that poets have delighted to celebrate her. Let us hear them on her behalf.

Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days, has the following epistle to her.

TO THE LADY LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD

Though Virtue be the same when low she stands
In th' humble shadows of obscurity,
As when she either sweats in martial bands,
Or sits in court clad with authority,
Yet, Madam, doth the strictness of her room
Greatly detract from her ability:
For, as inwall'd within a living tomb,
Her hands and arms of action labour not;
Her thoughts, as if abortive from the womb,
Come never born, though happily begot.
But where she hath, mounted in open sight,
An eminent and spacious dwelling got,
Where she may stir at will, and use her might,
There she is more herself, and more her own:
There, in the fair attire of honest dight,
She sits at ease, and makes her glory known:

Applause attends her hands; her deeds have grace;
Her worth new-born is strait as if full grown.
With such a godly and respected grace
Doth Virtue look that's set to look from high;
And such a fair advantage by her place
Hath state and greatness to do worthily;
And therefore well did your high fortunes meet
With her that, gracing you, comes grac'd thereby:
And well was let into a house so sweet,
So good, so fair, so fair so good a guest,
Who now remains as blessed in her seat,
As you are with her residency blest.
And this fair course of knowledge, whereunto
Your studies, learned Lady, are address,
Is th' only certain way that you can go
Unto true glory, to true happiness.
All passages on earth besides are so
Incumber'd with such vain disturbances,
As still we lose our rest in seeking it,
Being deluded with appearances;
And no key had you else that was so fit
T' unlock that prison of your sex as this,
To let you out of weakness, and admit
Your powers into the freedom of that bliss
That sets you there, where you may oversee
This rolling world, and view it as it is,
And apprehend how th' outsides do agree
With th' inward, being of the things we deem,
And hold in our ill east accounts to be
Of highest value, and of best esteem:
Since all the good we have rests in the mind,
By whose proportions only we redeem
Our thoughts from out confusion, and do find
The measure of ourselves, and of our powers;
And all that happiness remains confin'd
Within the kingdom of this breast of ours;
Within whose bounds all that we look on flies
In other jurisdictions, other powers,
Out of the circuit of our liberties.

All glory, honour, fame, applause, renown,
Are not belonging to our royalties,

But t' others' wills, wherein th' are only grown;
But that unless we find us all within,

We never can without us be our own;
Nor call it right our life that we live in,

But a possession held for others' use,
That seem to have more interest therein;

Which we do so dissever, part, traduce,
Let out to custom, fashion, and to show

As we enjoy but only the abuse,
And have no other deed at all to show.

How oft are we constrained to appear
With other countenance than that we owe,

And be ourselves far off, when we are near!
How oft are we fore'd on a cloudy heart

To set a shining face and make it clear,
Seeming content to put ourselves apart,

To bear a part of others' weaknesses!
As if we only were compos'd by art,

Not nature, and did all our deeds address
T' opinion, not t' conscience, what is right

As fram'd b' example not advisedness,
Into these forms that entertain our sight.

And though books, Madam, cannot make thy mind,
(Which we must bring) apt to be set aright,

Yet do they rectify it in that kind,
And touch it so as that it turns that way

Where judgment lies: and though we cannot find
The certain place of truth, yet do they stay

And entertain us near about the same,
And give the soul the best delight that may

Encheer it most, and most our spirits inflame
To thoughts of glory, and to worthy ends:

And therefore in a course that best became
The clearness of your heart, and best commends

Your worthy powers, you run the rightest way
That is on earth, that can true glory give,

By which, when all consumes, your fame shall live.

Among Ben Jonson's Epigrams we find three, the seventy-sixth, the eighty-fourth, and the ninety-fourth, inscribed to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The last was accompanied by a present of Donne's Satires.

76TH.—ON LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

This morning, timely wrapt with holy fire,
 I thought to form unto my zealous muse
 What kind of creature I could most desire
 To honour, serve, and love, as poets use.
 I meant to make her fair, and free, and wise,
 Of greatest blood, and yet more good than great :
 I meant the day-star should not brighter rise,
 Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.
 I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,
 Hating that solemn vice of greatness, pride :
 I meant each softest virtue there should meet,
 Fit in that softer bosom to reside.
 Only a learned and a manly soul
 I purpos'd her ; that should with even pow'rs
 The rock, the spindle, and the sheers, controul
 Of Destiny, and spin her own free hours.
 Such when I meant to feign, and wish'd to see,
 My muse bade Bedford write, and that was she.

84TH.—TO LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

Madam, I told you late, how I repented
 I ask'd a Lord a buck, and he denied me :
 And, 'ere I could ask you I was prevented ;
 For your most noble offer had supplied me.
 Straight went I home ; and there, most like a poet,
 I fancied to myself what wine, what wit,
 I would have spent : how ev'ry muse should know it,
 And Phœbus' self should be at eating it.
 O, Madam, if your grant did thus transfer me,
 Make it your gift : see whither that will bear me.

94TH.—TO LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
 Life of the muses' day, their morning star,
 If works (not th' authors) their own grace should look,
 Whose poems would not wish to be your book?
 But these desir'd by you, the makers' ends
 Crown with their own : rare poems ask rare friends.
 Yet satires, since the most of mankind be
 Their unavowed subject, fewest see :
 For none e'er took that pleasure in sin's sense,
 But when they heard it tax'd took more offence.
 They then that, living where the matter's bred,
 Dare for these poems yet but ask, and read,
 And like them too, must needfully, though few,
 Be of the best, and 'mongst those best are you ;
 Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
 The muses' ev'ning as their morning star.

Dr. Donne, the high character of whose mind, as well as the severe habits of his pen, must place him beyond any possible suspicion of mercenary motives, addressed several of his poems to her, and wrote an elegy on her death. An extract from one of them will suffice to show his opinion of her talents.

TO THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

T' have written there, when you writ, seem'd to me
 Worst of spiritual vices, simony ;
 And not t' have written then seems little less
 Than worst of civil vices, thanklessness.
 In this, my doubt I seem'd loath to confess ;
 In that, I seem'd to shun beholdingness.
 But 'tis not so ; nothing, as I am, may
 Pay all they have, and yet have all to pay.

Such borrow in their payments, and owe more,
 By having leave to do so than before.
 Yet since rich mines in barren grounds are shewn,
 May I not yield, not gold, but coal or stone ?
 Temples were not demolish'd, though profane ;
 Here Peter Jove's, there Paul has Dian's fane :
 So whether my hymns you admit or chuse,
 In me you have hallowed a Pagan Muse,
 And denizen'd a stranger, who, mistaught
 By blamers of the times they marr'd, hath sought
 Virtues in corners, which now bravely do
 Shine in the world's best part, or all in you.
 I have been told that virtue in courtiers' hearts
 Suffers an ostracism and departs.
 Profit, ease, fitness, plenty, bid it go,
 But whither, only knowing you, I know.
 Your, or you virtue two vast uses serves,
 It ransoms one sex, and one court preserves.
 There's nothing but your worth, which being true,
 Is known to any other, not to you :
 And you can never know it ; to admit
 No knowledge of your worth, is some of it.
 But since to you your praises discords be,
 Stop other ills, to meditate with me.

Oh ! to confess we know not what we should
 Is half excuse, we know not what we would.
 Lightness depresseth us, emptiness fills :
 We sweat and faint, yet still go down the hills.
 As new philosophy arrests the sun,
 And bids the passive earth about it run,
 So we have dull'd our mind ; it hath no ends ;
 Only the body's busy, and pretends ;
 As dead low earth eclipses and controuls
 The quick high moon, so doth the body souls.
 In none but us are such mixtengines found
 As hands of double office ; for the ground
 We till with them, and them to heav'n we raise :
 Who prayerless labours, or without this prays,

Does but one half; that's none : He which said "Plough,
And look not back," to look up doth allow.
Good seed degenerates, and oft obeys
The soil's disease, and into cockle strays.
Let the mind's thoughts be but translated so
Into the body, and bastardly they grow.
What hate could hurt our bodies like our love?
We, but no foreign tyrants, could remove
These not engrav'd, but inborn dignities;
Caskets of souls, temples and palaces :
For bodies shall from death redeemed be
Souls but preserved, not naturally free.
As men t' our prisons, new souls to us are sent,
Which learn it there, and come in innocent.

First seeds of every creature are in us.
What e'er the world hath, bad or precious,
Man's body can produce. Hence it hath been
That stones, worms, frogs, and snakes, in man are seen :
But who e'er saw, though nature can work so,
That pearl, or gold, or corn, in man did grow?
We've added to the world Virginia, and sent
Two new stars lately to the firmament :
Why grudge we us, not heaven, the dignity
T' increase with ours those fair souls' company.
But I must end this letter; though it do
Stand on two truths, neither is true to you.
Virtue hath some perverseness, for she will
Neither believe her good, nor others' ill.
Even in your virtues' best paradise
Virtue hath some, but wise, degrees of vice.
Too many virtues, or too much of one,
Begets in you unjust suspicion :
And ignorance of vice makes virtue less ;
Quenching compassion of our wretchedness.
But these are riddles ; some aspersion
Of vice becomes well some complexion.
Statesmen purge vice with vice, and may corrode
The bad with bad, a spider with a toad

For so, ill thralls not them, but they tame ill,
 And make her do much good against her will.
 But in your commonwealth, or world in you,
 Vice hath no office, or good work to do.
 Take then no vicious purge, but be content
 With cordial virtue, your known nourishment."

Even from the grave, which seldom flatters any but its inhabitants, arose her praises. In Twickenham Church, on the monument of her cousin, Bridget, Lady Markham, who died in 1609, we find an epitaph, remarkable enough in other respects, beginning thus—"Brigidæ lectissimæ, piissimæ, innocentissimæ, tamen hoc autem uno quo sexus dignior sexum fassæ quod mater fuit, cætera viri; quæ generi suo quo Jacob. Harringtoni, Eq. Aur. Jo. Baronis de Exton frat. filia fuit itaque inclytæ Luciæ Comitissæ de Bedford sanguine (quod satis) sed et amicitîâ propinquissima, quantum accepit, addidit splendoris," &c.

It would have been strange indeed had the Countess's pen been wholly unemployed, and indeed we find in the foregoing verses more than one allusion to her writings; but no relic perhaps is now to be discovered of her composition. It is equally extraordinary, and no pains have been spared in the search, that she should seem to have made no will. She is said to have spent immense sums, and it is well known that she sold much of the great inheritance which fell to her share, particularly the fine estate of Burleigh on the Hill, which was purchased of her by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who reared on it a noble mansion which was destroyed during the grand rebellion, but much must still have remained with her. She survived the Earl, her husband, for many years, but the date of her death, and the place of her burial, are unknown. She has left, by a singular fatality, as it should seem, a splendid reputation, which can neither be supported nor depreciated by the evidence of historical facts.



James. p. x

GEORGE I. VISCOUNT.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

OB. 1638.

GEORGE VILLIERS,
FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM ;

THAT is to say, the first to whom that title was granted since it had been torn by attainder from the blood of Plantagenet, in the superb House of Stafford.

There is so much of historical importance, and so much more of the curiosity of anecdote, in the life of this extraordinary man, that the biographer who may endeavour to treat of it with conciseness will perhaps find it no easy task to satisfy his readers, or indeed himself, by the method either of his selection or his detail. Villiers's unexampled exaltation, and exorbitant power ; the extent of his concern in the highest matters of the State ; the ardent character of his whole mind ; and the remarkable termination of his life ; are subjects for the largest canvas, and the boldest pencil ; while his secret history as a courtier sinks into the effeminate delicacy of miniature, and requires numberless touches to complete a picture, full of interest in all its individual parts, however deficient in its proportions.

It was reported by those who envied his greatness that he was meanly descended ; but the truth is that his family, originally of the county of Nottingham, had been seated for four centuries before his birth among the best gentry, "rather indeed," as Sir Henry Wotton observes, "without obscurity than with any great lustre," at Brokesby, in Leicestershire, where he was born on the twenty-eighth of August, 1592. His father, Sir George Villiers, Knight, having had two sons by a former wife, married, secondly, Mary, daughter of

Anthony Beaumont, a younger brother of the ancient and still flourishing House of Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, in the same county, and George was the second, or, as some say, the youngest of the three sons of that match. With little hope therefore even of a decent patrimony, he was sent, at ten years old, to a school at Billesden, in the neighbourhood of his parents, where, to use again the singular words of Wotton, "he was taught the principles of music, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth year of his age, when his father died." He was afterwards long instructed at home in dancing, fencing, and all the qualifications of a courtier, in which character it seems to have been rather the wish than the expectation of his parents that he might be some time placed; and then passed three years in France, from whence he returned exact to perfection in every accomplishment which could be bestowed by an education from which all that we are used to call learning seems to have been utterly excluded.

He loitered away yet another year in his mother's house in the country before any plan could be devised for his future life, when meeting with the daughter of Sir Robert Aston, a Scotsman, who was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Robes to the King, they conceived a mutual affection for each other, and he followed her to London. "The gentlewoman loved him so well," says Welden, "as, could all his friends have made, for her great fortune, but an hundred marks jointure, she had married him presently, in despite of all her friends, and no question would have had him without any jointure at all." It is said, however, probably more truly, that he was dissuaded from the match by Sir James Graham, another minor courtier, who, discerning in him all the qualities which were likely to succeed there, "encouraged him," as Wotton tells us, "to woo fortune in the Court." He attached himself therefore to that gentleman, and accompanied him shortly after in a progress which the King made through the midland counties, and at Ape-thorpe, in Northamptonshire, James first saw him.

Among the many follies of that royal paradox, his admiration of an agreeable exterior was perhaps the most remarkable. Homely in his own person, and even vulgar in his manners, he was delighted, almost to fascination, by a fine figure and countenance, and a graceful carriage. Villiers excelled in all, and the constant and precise agreement of the many who have described his sudden advancement leaves us no room to doubt that he owed it solely to those qualifications. The King imparted to Graham, with strict injunctions of secrecy, his intention to bestow on this young man the place of favourite, which indeed at that time was to be found in the establishment of almost every monarch, together, to quote Wotton once more, "with directions how, and by what degrees, he should bring him into favour."

James, however, was too impatient to wait the progress of his own arrangement. He commanded that Villiers should be sworn his servant, and gave him the office of Cupbearer; within a few weeks after, on the twenty-third of April, 1615, appointed him a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and settled on him an annual pension of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards; and, on the fourth of the following January, made him Master of the Horse, an office, before and since his time, always held by one of the prime nobility, and which the Earl of Worcester then resigned, at the King's instance, to make room for him. Such was the fortune of his first year. On the twenty-third of April, in the second, 1616, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and the next day named Justice of the Forests north of Trent; on the twenty-seventh of August created Baron Whaddon, at which time the King gave him the rich Lordship of that name in the county of Buckingham, and, very shortly after, Viscount Villiers; on the fifth of January, 1617 N.S., Earl, and on the first of the next January, Marquis of Buckingham. In the course of the same month, in the succeeding year, he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales, and immediately after sworn of the Privy Council,

and made Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests south of Trent, Master of the King's Bench office, High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle ; and all this before he had reached the twenty-sixth year of his age. In the mean time dignities and wealth were showered with a most unexampled wantonness and profusion on all his kindred. His mother was created Countess of Buckingham ; one of his two brothers Viscount Purbeck, and the other Earl of Anglesey ; and Sir William Fielding, who had married his only sister, Earl of Denbigh. His brothers and sisters of the half blood were also ennobled or enriched ; and even his most distant relations were provided for by advantageous marriages, or lucrative appointments. The ancient nobility, many of whom had in the beginning lent him their aid, for the sake of raising a rival to the favourite Somerset, now looked on in sullen silence, and the people, who in truth had little concern in the matter, murmured loudly.

Together with his great honours and employments, he possessed a control so unbounded over the King's inclinations, that he became the sole dispenser of all royal favours ; and by a felicity perhaps not to be paralleled, was held at the same time in the most unlimited affection and confidence by the Heir Apparent. Their characters were in most respects widely dissimilar, but they agreed in a disposition to form strong attachments, and in that perfect frankness of sincerity which alone can maintain them. Charles's regard was therefore reciprocated by Villiers, and as it seems to have been the first real friendship felt by either of them, so it naturally became of the strongest and most lasting order. Thence originated, among many other public matters perhaps of greater importance, the romantic journey to Spain, projected by Buckingham, with all the impetuosity that distinguished him, and most readily adopted by the Prince, in direct opposition to the King's declared judgment and inclination. Few historical events have been so frequently and so largely detailed. A negotiation had long subsisted for the marriage

of Charles to the Infanta of Spain, which these young statesmen resolved to supersede by presenting themselves suddenly and unexpectedly, as private persons, to the most jealous and formal Court in Europe. They set out on the eighteenth of February, 1623, under the names of Jack and Tom Smith, with a single attendant, from Buckingham's lately purchased palace of Newhall, in Essex; passed the Thames near Gravesend, where, by idly giving a piece of gold to the boatman, they excited a suspicion that they were persons of rank intending to cross the sea to fight a duel, and in consequence narrowly escaped being stopped at Rochester; were actually detained at Canterbury by the Mayor, to whom the Marquis was obliged to discover himself, taking off his false beard and alleging, in his character of Lord Admiral, that he was going to take a secret view of the state of a fleet which was then equipping for the North Seas; arrived in the evening at Dover, where they were joined by Sir Francis Cottington, and another, who had been sent to hire a vessel; and, embarking the next morning for Calais, on the twenty-first arrived at Paris, where Charles, standing among ordinary spectators in a balcony in the Court, first saw the beauteous Henrietta Maria, his future Queen.

At length they reached Madrid and threw off their disguises in the house of the Earl of Bristol, the English Ambassador, who the next day notified to the King the arrival of his illustrious visitor. Charles was received with the most profound respect, and entertained with a long series of feasts and shows in the utmost degree of royal splendour, but permitted scarcely to see the fair object of his chivalrous enterprise. The Spaniards, conceiving naturally enough that he could have been tempted to undertake it only by an extravagant inclination to the match, laboured incessantly to induce him to purchase it by the sacrifice of his religion; and the Pope wrote to him at great length to the same effect, delaying his dispensation till he received Charles's answer, many passages in which gave great offence to the Protestants

at home. In the mean time Villiers, who, during his absence, had been created Duke of Buckingham, and Earl of Coventry, quarrelled openly with the Count D'Olivares, then the Prime Minister and favourite of the King of Spain, and with the Earl of Bristol, and left the Court without the usual formalities, under the pretence of visiting a British fleet then in the Bay of Biscay ; and became suddenly the greatest enemy to the match which he had so lately taken such extraordinary steps to forward. James, vexed by his importunities to break it off, and by the disgust conceived against it in England, as much on the score of the vast expense of the journey as from the usual unpopular opinion of any connexion with Spain, found himself obliged to give way. The Prince, weary of the absence of his confidant, and of the new causes of delay which almost daily arose, determined to return, leaving in the hands of Bristol an instrument by which he bound himself to solemnise the marriage within fifteen days after the arrival of a second dispensation, which the death of Pope Gregory the Fifteenth had rendered necessary. He joined his friend at St. Andero, and they arrived in London on the sixth of October, 1623. An express was despatched the very next day to the Earl of Bristol to suspend all proceedings, and speedily followed by a positive demand of the aid of Spain to procure the restitution of the Palatinate, as a condition for the completion of the nuptials. This was angrily refused ; and thus, chiefly through the rashness and levity of Buckingham, ended a treaty which had subsisted for seven years, and on which the eyes of all Europe had been bent with a peculiar attention and anxiety.

He was, immediately after his return, appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Steward of the Manor of Hampton Court, but his favour with the King was now waning. James, passive as he was, had at length become impatient of rule, or was perhaps terrified at the serious perplexities with which Buckingham's imperiousness had surrounded him. The Duke, at the meeting of a new Par-

liament, which was called chiefly to consider of that great affair, stated at large, at a conference of the two Houses, the motives of the Prince's journey, and the circumstances which had consequently occurred, ascribing the miscarriage of the treaty to the duplicity of Spain, and to the misconduct of the Earl of Bristol; and told them, in the conclusion of his harangue, that the King had recalled that nobleman in order to subject him to a public inquiry, when in fact James had sent for him for the purpose of opposing his wisdom and his boldness to the intolerable insolence of Buckingham. Nothing could have mortified the King more effectually. His favourite had not only appealed from his opinion to that of the Parliament, of which James, and with good reason, was already abundantly jealous, but had aimed at, and indeed suddenly acquired, a great degree of popularity with that body. But this was not all. He availed himself instantly of this disposition in the Parliament to ruin the Treasurer Cranfield, who, during his absence in Spain, had repeatedly ventured to expostulate with him on the endless calls for money which had arisen from that expedition, as well as to give his advice independently to the King on important matters of State. Cranfield and Bristol were impeached in the House of Commons, and the former, as may be seen more at large elsewhere in this work, was imprisoned, and enormously fined; but Bristol, a man of a lofty spirit and undoubted integrity, exhibited a counter-charge of high treason against the Duke, and so saved himself from punishment, though not from disgrace. Buckingham's last act of dominion over his absurdly indulgent master presently followed. James was forced by him to declare war against Spain, and died almost immediately after. Some faint rumour was raised that his death was purposely accelerated by a certain plaister applied to his breast by the Duke's direction, but the imputation has been spurned at by all creditable writers. If Buckingham shortened his life, it was by the slow poison of ingratitude.

The accession of Charles not only renewed, but increased,

the measure of his favour. It had been expected, and very reasonably, that the Prince, on succeeding to the sovereign rule, would have abridged the extent of his power. The politicians trusted for this to the cool and sober judgment which they knew his Majesty to possess ; the courtiers, and other high-spirited men, to his resentment ; for Buckingham's insolence to him was notorious, and it was no secret that he had even lifted his hand against Charles, on some dispute in a game of tennis, to strike him with the racquet : the people, always judging kindly when they are allowed to judge for themselves, conceived that the King had endured him out of a dutiful respect to James's foibles, and would now give him up. All, however, were disappointed. " The new King," says Lord Clarendon, " from the death of the old even to the death of the Duke himself, discovering the most entire confidence in, and even friendship to, him that ever King had showed to any subject : all preferments in Church and State given by him ; all his kindred and friends promoted to the degree in honour, or riches, or offices, that he thought fit ; and all his enemies and envyers discountenanced as he appointed." The Parliament, however, at least the new House of Commons, showed a very different disposition. They declared against the war with Spain ; refused the supplies necessary to maintain it ; and grounded their denial on their sense of the Duke's misconduct in that country. Not content with this, they sifted the whole of his public life with the utmost asperity, and not only censured him by several distinct votes, but even carried up remonstrances against him to the Throne. Charles was unhappily prevailed on by him to dissolve that Parliament, as well as the next, which had proceeded against him on the old ground of the Earl of Bristol's impeachment. Plans to raise money, the legality of which was justly doubted, were now instituted, and hence originated that long scene of misery in which the Crown and the Parliament, inseparable supports to each other, crumbled into ruins, together with the happiness and the interests of the people

While these matters were agitated, a treaty, which had been commenced before the late King's death, for the marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, was concluded, and Buckingham was sent, in May, 1625, with great pomp to Paris, to escort the Princess to England. Here again, as at Madrid, the turbulence of his passions produced an unhappy public effect. "He had the ambition," as Lord Clarendon informs us, "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affections to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with the most importunate addresses, insomuch as when the King (of France) had brought his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into England, the Duke, upon the departure of that Court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception, and, if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger: but he swore in the instant that he would see, and speak with that lady, in spite of the strength and power of France; and from the time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that Court and nation." So deep and lasting a resentment, arising from such a cause, has been perhaps unheard of. The great historian goes on to say that he was ever after unceasingly assiduous in his encouragement of all who were most obnoxious to the King of France, against whom he lost no opportunity of incensing his own Sovereign; and that he took great pains to lessen Charles's affection to his young and beautiful Queen; and even brought himself, contrary to his nature, to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards her; of which the Earl gives this most remarkable anecdote in proof. —One day, when he unjustly apprehended that she had shown some disrespect to his mother, he came into her pre-

sence with much passion, and after some very uncivil expostulations, told her that she should repent it ; to which her Majesty answering with some quickness, he desired her to recollect that there had been Queens in England who had lost their heads.

In the gratification of this unreasonable spirit of vengeance, he persuaded Charles, within little more than a year after his nuptials, to declare war against France, and took on himself the chief command, both by land and sea. He sailed on the twenty-seventh of June, 1626, with ten men-of-war, and a multitude of other ships, having on board a land force of seven thousand men, with the view first of relieving the Huguenot town of Rochelle, which, in its dread of offending France past forgiveness, at that time declined his aid. He then attacked the Isle of Rhe, in its neighbourhood, which was strongly fortified ; and after five months spent in ineffectual endeavours, sometimes beaten, sometimes tricked, and always unsuccessful ; and having lost between two and three thousand men, and forty colours ; returned with the reputation of total military incapacity. Charles, however, received him with unabated grace and affection ; but the popular outcry was excessive, and, in a Parliament which had been lately called, the House of Commons declared him to have been the cause of all the evils and dangers under which the King and the kingdom suffered. In the mean time a second fleet sailed to the same coast, which was intrusted to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, and which had no better success. A third expedition was presently after undertaken, now at the request of the Rochellers, which the Duke, anxious to retrieve the reputation which he had lately lost in the same service, again resolved to command in person, and in August, 1628, arrived at Portsmouth, to prepare for his embarkation.

On the twenty-third of that month, having just risen, and proceeding to the apartment in which his breakfast was prepared, accompanied by the Duke de Soubise, and several

English and French officers, he was stabbed to the heart by an unknown person, at the very moment that the hangings were held up to admit him into the room. He drew out the knife from the wound, and, uttering only the words—"The villain hath killed me,"—was dead in an instant. No one saw the stroke. The French who were near him, and speaking with the usual vehemence and action of their country, were for a moment in some danger, for those who understood not the language suspected that the conversation was angry, and that some one of them was the assassin. Presently, however, a hat was found on the floor, in the lining of which a paper was sewed, containing a few lines of the declaration lately published against the Duke by the House of Commons. There could be no doubt that it belonged to the murderer. All was tumult and confusion. Several ran out of the house to seek him, naturally supposing that he had lost no time in attempting to escape; when one of them, seeing a man without a hat walking very composedly near the door, exclaimed,—“Here is the fellow who killed the Duke;” and all crying out together—“Which is he?”—the man answered with the utmost calmness, “I am he;” and added, as some have said, recollecting the suspicion which had fallen on the French, “I am the man who did the deed—let no man suffer who is innocent.” Many rushed on him to kill him, and he endeavoured to meet the thrusts of their swords; while others, with more presence of mind, protected him. He was at length seized unhurt. He was presently known to be John Felton, a man of good family in Suffolk, and a lieutenant in the army, who had served in the Isle of Rhe, where his captain had been killed; and it was rumoured that he had entertained a deep resentment against the Duke for having refused to promote him to the command of his company. But when order was sufficiently restored to admit of questioning him with some coolness, and he was asked how, and by whom, he had been instigated, he answered, with the greatest firmness, that no man living could have

persuaded him to perpetrate the act, and that he had imparted his intention to no one : that if his hat were sought for, they would find his motives written in it ; that he had used that precaution under the impression that he should have been put to death instantly after he had killed the Duke : and that he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from so great an enemy. The whole kingdom was struck with horror at this dreadful assassination. Even the Duke's most bitter enemies deplored, or, in decency, affected to deplore it. England could not at that time furnish monsters sufficiently depraved to apologise for a frantic enthusiast who had murdered even a bad minister.

In considering the marvellous power and prosperity which waited on the Duke of Buckingham's career, as well as the manner of its termination, we may regard with diminished scorn the error of more simple ages, which usually ascribed such tides of good fortune, so suddenly and tragically turned, to I know not what bargains with supernatural agents, who were supposed to lease out terms of human felicity, and to deprive their tenants of all at a stipulated moment. Superstition, however, seems to have exhausted itself in recording an uncommon number of ominous facts which were thought to prognosticate his death. Among these, the story of the apparition of his father, Sir George Villiers, too remarkable to be here wholly unnoticed, and too tedious to be recited, has been told by Lord Clarendon with such seriousness of relation, and such circumstantial exactness, that, however lightly we may be inclined to think of it, there can be little doubt that his Lordship gave it full credit.

The great historian has left a character of the Duke, conceived in a spirit of candour so pure, and with such incomparable judgment, and delivered with such a simple grandeur and sweetness of expression, that it is scarcely less painful to be under the necessity of abridging it, than it would be to increase the imperfections of this little memoir by wholly

suppressing it. "This great man," says Lord Clarendon, "was a person of a noble nature, and generous disposition, and of such other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King. He understood the arts of a Court, and all the learning which is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced favourite, who he knew would be always looked upon as the work of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige, from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted. His kindness and affection to his friends were so vehement, that they were so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would: and it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to reconciliation; and yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular; and when he was in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge, the low method of courts, that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he first told him what he was to expect from him; and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity, that the person found it in his power to receive satisfaction in the way he would choose for himself.

"His single misfortune was, which indeed was productive

of many greater, that he never made a worthy and noble friendship with a man so near his equal that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passions ; which was partly the vice of the time, when the Court was not replenished with great choice of excellent men, and partly the vice of the persons who were most worthy to be applied to, and (who) looked upon his youth, and his obscurity before his rise, as obligations to gain their friendships by extraordinary application. Then his ascent was rather a flight than a growth ; and he was such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was well seen at the bottom ; and, as if he had been born a favourite, he was supreme the first month he came to court ; and it was want of confidence, not of credit, that he had not at first (that) which he obtained afterwards ; never meeting with the least obstruction, from his setting out till he was as great as he could be : so that he wanted dependants before he thought he could want coadjutors. Nor was he very fortunate in the election of those dependants, very few of his servants having been ever qualified enough to assist or advise him ; and they were intent only upon growing rich under him, not upon their master's growing good as well as great ; insomuch as he was, throughout his fortune, a much wiser man than any servant or friend he had. Let the fault or misfortune be what or whence it will, it may reasonably be believed that if he had been blessed with one faithful friend, who had been qualified with wisdom and integrity, that great person would have committed as few faults, and done as transcendent worthy actions, as any man that shined in such a sphere in that age in Europe ; for he was of an excellent disposition, and of a mind very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful ; nor was it ever known that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or unkind thing ; and though he left a very great estate to his heirs, he owed no part of it

to his own industry or solicitation, but to the impatient humour of two Kings, his masters, who would make his fortune equal to his titles ; and the one as much above other men as the other was : and he considered it no otherwise than as their's, and left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almost to the value of it. If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he is charged (and it is a weed, if a weed, apt to grow in the best soils), it doth not appear that it was his nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air ; nor was it more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for an healthy man to sit in the sun, in the brightest dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two such masters."

The private life of the Duke of Buckingham, as indeed Lord Clarendon's character of him might incline us to expect, seems to have been nearly irreproachable. It has been objected against him, and strenuously denied, that his matrimonial infidelities were unbounded. It is however allowed by those who have so censured him that he was a tender and indulgent husband, and that his Duchess was the sole mistress of his heart. He bequeathed to her, for her life, all his mansion-houses, with a fourth part of his lands in jointure, and an absolute power to dispose of the whole of his personal estate. His affection to those of his own blood transported him, as we have seen, beyond all measure of prudence in their gratification. His magnificent and bounteous disposition made him, in spite of the deficiencies of his education, a patron of learning, and of the fine arts ; among other proofs of which we find that he purchased at Antwerp a curious library of Arabic manuscripts, to present to the University of Cambridge, of which he was Chancellor ; and formed a collection of pictures so superb, that for a very small part of them, which had been bought for him by Rubens, he paid ten thousand pounds. He possessed indeed

a single piece, an *Ecce Homo* by Titian, for which the great collector, Thomas Earl of Arundel, had offered him seven thousand.

He married Catherine, daughter and sole heir of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland of his family, and afterwards, to the great offence of Charles the First, wife of Randal M'Donnel, Marquis of Antrim. That lady brought him three sons ; James, who died an infant ; George, his successor, and Francis, who was slain by the rebels in a skirmish at Kingston on Thames, at the head of a troop which he had raised with the secret view of rescuing the King from Carisbrooke Castle. He left also one daughter, Mary, married, first to Charles, Lord Herbert, son and heir to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who dying soon after, she took to her second husband James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox. The Duke of Buckingham lies buried on the north side of King Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.





WILLIAM GREVILLE,

LEED BROOK

1628.

FULKE GREVILLE,

FIRST LORD BROOKE.

SIR Fulke Greville, for by that style the subject of this memoir is best known, was one of the chief ornaments of Elizabeth's Court, and stood among the foremost of those who were graced by her smiles. Nature and circumstances seemed to have combined to place him favourably in the view of a Sovereign who was not more distinguished by her keen discernment, and ready approbation of merit, than by her reluctance to encourage it by solid rewards. His character united to most of the talents of a statesman the easy gaiety and refined elegance of a courtier. He was a good scholar; loved polite literature; delighted in composition, in which he employed his pen to a vast extent; and was a liberal patron to men of genius and learning. Not a breath of suspicion seems ever to have fallen either on the honour of his public or private conduct, or on his fidelity to the Crown; and his loyalty to Elizabeth appeared to be tinged by a mixture even of personal friendship. On the other hand, he was born to the inheritance of a large estate, which he sought not to increase; avoided all intrigues, either in Court or State, and lived in harmony with the great in both; was free from envy, and perhaps just sufficiently jealous of those who were occasionally more favoured than himself to soothe the vanity of his mistress, without annoying her by his endeavours to supplant them.

Few private gentlemen could boast a more illustrious descent. His father, Sir Fulke Greville, of an ancient

knightly family, sprung maternally from the great baronial houses of Beauchamp of Powick, and Willoughby de Brooke ; and his mother was Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. He was born in 1554, their only son, and great pains were bestowed on his education, which commenced in a school, then of considerable fame, in the town of Shrewsbury, where he was placed with his relation, the incomparable Philip Sidney, the darling companion of his youth, and the idol of his more mature friendship. He went from thence, at about the age of sixteen, to Oxford ; was admitted, it is not known of what House, a gentleman commoner ; and after a short stay in that University, removed to Trinity College, in Cambridge, and, having there concluded his academical studies, passed on the Continent the time usual with youths of his rank, and returned highly accomplished. He was now introduced at Court, and with uncommon advantages, for he was kinsman not only to the highly favoured Sir Henry Sidney, but to the sagacious and useful Walsingham, and those great statesmen had determined to breed him to their own envied and painful profession. The character of his nature, however, frustrated their endeavours. He was at once indolent and active, cautious and enterprising. He longed for distinction, but viewed with disgust the steps that usually lead to ministerial eminence. The earlier part of his life passed therefore without public employment, except in some offices probably of more profit than efficiency, which he held under Sir Henry Sidney, in his presidency of the Marches of Wales ; one of which, indeed, that of Clerk of the Signet to the Council there, to the reversion of which he succeeded in 1581, is said, almost incredibly, to have produced him in fees the great annual income of two thousand pounds.

His inclination however to stand upon his own merits remained unaltered by these advantages. Sir Philip Sidney, whom he seems to have chosen as his model, was perhaps also his adviser ; and who could have refused as a guide him

whom it was a glory even faintly to imitate? he projected various schemes of foreign excursion, the accomplishment of which was always prevented by the Queen's express commands. "How mild soever," says he, in his life of Sir Philip Sidney, which exhibits too the most important parts of his own, "those mixtures of favours and corrections were in that princely Lady, yet, to shew that they fell heavy in crossing a young man's ends, I will only chuse and alledge a few out of many, some with leave, some without. First, when those two mighty armies of Don John's and the Duke Casimir's, were to meet in the Low Countries, my horses, with all other preparations, being shipped at Dover, with leave under her bill assigned, even then was I staid by a princely mandate, the messenger Sir Edward Dyer." He goes on to state that having soon after made a visit to Walsingham, who was then Ambassador at Paris, without Elizabeth's permission, she was so highly offended as to forbid him her presence for several months after his return; that she arrested him, together with Sir Philip Sidney, at the moment when they were about to sail with Drake to the West Indies, in 1585; prevented him from attending Leicester, who had given him the command of an hundred horse, to the Low Countries; and, finally, punished him by a second banishment from the Court, for six months, because he had gratified an earnest curiosity to be present for a time with the army of the King of Navarre, during the wars of the League. "By which many warnings," he concludes, "I, finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching than glorious, called my second thoughts to council, and in that map clearly discerning action and honour to fly with more wings than one, and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his Sovereign's hand had planted it, I found reason to contract my thoughts from those larger, but wandering, horizons of the world abroad, and bound my prospect within the safe limits of duty, in such home services as were acceptable to my Sovereign."

He returned therefore to the life of a courtier, and contented himself for the time with such fame as might be derived from shining in tournaments, and at banquets, and enlivening Elizabeth's select parties by the graces of his manners and conversation. Thus he passed many years, devoting however his frequent intervals of leisure to almost universal study, and to literary composition of characters little less various. It seems to have been his ambition or his delight, or both, to confine in the golden fetters of verse the discussion of subjects which the simplicity and amplitude of prose too frequently fail to treat of with competent clearness. Hence it is, in some measure, that he has incurred the blame of a mysterious, confused, and affected writer, when the censure was rather due to a false taste, or an arrogant judgment, than to any remarkable deficiency, either of intellect or style. His prose is sufficiently intelligible; abundantly figurative, according to the fashion of his time; but, contrary to that fashion, frequently insufferably diffuse. It is evident that he neither thought nor wrote with facility, and it is no injustice to his memory to reckon him among the million whom vanity has added to the list of authors. As a lover of letters, and a patron of literary men, his reputation stands on higher ground. He founded an historical lecture in the University of Cambridge, on an annual stipend of one hundred pounds. Camden, who, without detracting from the worth of Bacon or Herbert, may be called the father of truth and purity of style, in the composition of English history, was eminently favoured by him. "This Sir Fulke Greville," says that writer, enumerating in his *Britannia* the eminent persons of the County of Warwick, "doth so entirely devote himself to the study of real virtue and honour, that the nobleness of his mind far exceeds that of his birth; for whose extraordinary favours, though I must despair of making suitable returns, yet, whether speaking or silent, I must ever preserve a grateful remembrance of them." The respectable Speed who was rescued by him from that which a customary prejudice has

designated the meanest of all mechanical employments, in his topographical work thus owns his obligations. "Sir Fulke Greville's merits to me-wards I do acknowledge, in setting this hand free from the daily employments of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to express the inclination of my mind; himself being the procurer of my present estate." Davenant, the Laureat in the reigns of Charles the First and Second, was bred in his house, and lived with him till his death; and a host of poets have mixed with their compliments to his muse their more sincere celebration of his munificence.

To return to the circumstances of his life: it was not till October 1597, that the honour of knighthood was conferred on him, and we find him a few months after stepping out of his usual course of independence, and soliciting for the office of Treasurer of the Wars, which he did not obtain. In 1599, however, he was appointed for life Treasurer for Marine Causes, and is said to have accepted about the same time a commission as Rear Admiral in the fleet which was then equipped to resist a second invasion threatened by the Spaniards; but Elizabeth, in the concluding year of her reign, did at length bestow on him a lasting mark of her favour, by granting to him the manor, and extensive lands of Wedgenock, one of the Warwickshire estates, which had fallen to the Crown by the attainder of the Dudleys. He represented that County in most of the Parliaments of her reign; was an occasional speaker; and frequently chosen of committees

James the First, at whose coronation he was made a Knight of the Bath, in 1603 added to his possessions in his native county a grant of the ancient Castle of Warwick, with its demesne. No boon could have been more to his taste. It was then in so ruinous and neglected a state, that the only habitable part of it was used for the common gaol of the county; but "he bestowed so much cost, at least twenty thousand pounds," says Dugdale, in his history of Warwickshire, "in the repairs thereof; beautifying it with the most

pleasant gardens, plantations, and walks, and adorning it with rich furniture; that, considering its situation, no place in that midland part of England can compare with it for stateliness and delight." Here then was a new occupation for the dignified leisure that he loved, and he added to it about this time a design to write a history of the preceding reign derived from the only proper sources of history, original state papers, and his own knowledge of facts. This plan, from motives which may readily be conceived, was defeated by the selfish apprehensions of the Secretary Cecil, to whom he applied for the inspection of many documents necessary to his purpose. Greville, who perhaps had foreseen some opposition in that quarter, prefaced his request by observing that he "conceived an historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth; but that to tell all the truth were both justly to wrong and offend not only Princes and States, but to blemish and stir up against himself the frailty and tenderness not only of particular men, but of many families;" and has been therefore severely censured by Lord Orford. Without stopping to weigh the respective demerits of historical reservation, whether arising from the meanness of fear, or the insolence of faction, suffice it to say that Cecil at first readily acceded to his motion, but, after some musing, asked him "why he would dream out his time in writing a story, being as likely to rise in this time as any man he knew;" and that, finding he could not be moved from his purpose by artifice, told him that "upon second thoughts he durst not presume to let the council chest lie open to any man living, without his Majesty's knowledge and approbation." And "with this supersedeas," says Sir Fulke, who tells the story at considerable length in his *Life of Sidney*, "I humbly took my leave; at the first sight assuring myself that this last project of his would necessarily require sheet after sheet to be viewed; and that the many judgments which those embryos of mine must probably have passed through would have brought forth such a world of alterations as, in the end, the work itself would have

proved a story of other men's writing, with my name only put to it; and so a worship of time; not a voluntary homage of duty."

He remained, however, unemployed in public affairs till after Cecil's death, but in 1614 was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Under Treasurer, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. As the duties and labours of those offices were moderate in the infant days of the modern giant finance, so were their profits. It may be worth observing that the annual emolument of the Chancellor did not amount to forty pounds; nor that of the Under Treasurer to one hundred and eighty. On the ninth of January, 1620, he was created a Baron, by the title of Lord Brooke, of Beauchamp's Court, in Warwickshire, with remainder to his cousin, Robert Greville, whom he had bred, and adopted as his son, and who will presently be spoken of more at large; and in the following year he resigned his ministerial posts, and accepted that of one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber. To his natural carelessness of the most usual objects of ambition was now added the indolence of increasing years. The light labours of his closet, and the polished conversation of the Court, employed the remainder of his life, and he had reached his seventy-fourth year, with little decay of health or spirits, when he was murdered, in his residence of Brooke House in Holborn, by a gentleman domestic, whom he had retained for many years in his service. The assassin, Ralph Heywood, who was alone with him in his bedchamber, stabbed him in the back; rushed instantly into another apartment; and destroyed himself. This horrid act has been commonly, but very improbably, attributed to the omission of Heywood's name in his Lord's will: a fact which it is scarcely possible could have been known, especially by a person of his degree, till after that nobleman's death. On this report, however, a tedious speculation on the ingratitude of patrons, and the misery of dependants, cruelly injurious to the memory of Lord Brooke, may be found in a great biographical work of

modern date, by no means distinguished for its affection to the aristocratic order. The blow was probably the result of sudden frenzy. The noble sufferer survived a few days, and, dying on the 30th of September, 1628, was buried, with much solemnity, in the great church of Warwick, under a monument, which he had some years before erected with the well known inscription, "Fulke Greville, Servant to Queen Elizabeth ; Counsellor to King James ; and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney. Trophæum Peccati." Lord Brooke was never married.

He wrote in prose, "The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney"—"A Letter to an honourable Lady, with advice how to behave herself to a husband of whom she was jealous"—"A Letter on Travel," written for the use of his cousin Greville Verney, then in France ;—but a little book, impudently published under his name in 1643, intituled "The five years of King James, or the Condition of the State of England," &c. is undoubtedly spurious, although Lord Orford has unwarily admitted it into his list of Lord Brooke's writings. His poetical works, most of which were published about five years after his death, were "Cælica," a collection of one hundred and nine songs and sonnets, several of great length—"A Treatise of Human Learning," in fifteen stanzas—"An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour," in eighty-six stanzas—"A Treatise of Wars," in sixty-eight stanzas. These four pieces were published in one volume in 1633 ; but in 1670 appeared "The Remains of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, being Poems of Monarchy and Religion, never before printed ;" extending together to the enormous length of nearly eight hundred stanzas of six lines. He wrote also two tragedies ; "Alaham," and "Mustapha," after the model of the ancient drama ; an ineffectual attempt to vitiate the theatrical taste of his country, more pardonable in him than in others who have since made it with equal ill fortune. A third has also been imputed to him, intituled "Marcus Tullius Cicero," but it is believed to have been written by another hand.



IX

CAOTHE CATHED

SABD OF TITLES

JE 1629

GEORGE CAREW.

EARL OF TOTNES.

VARIOUS circumstances have combined to obscure the fame of this great and good man, and to exclude his character from that station amidst British worthies to which it is so justly entitled. He was a wise and honest statesman, a most eminent military commander, and an historian not less estimable for the extent and correctness of his views than for a purity and perspicuity of expression of which few other instances are to be found among the authors of his day : but his counsels, and the labours of his pen, as well as of his sword, were chiefly devoted to the affairs of a nation at that time not only wholly unable to appreciate his deserts, but which was regarded by England with a degree of contempt extending its influence, in some sort, even to all who concerned themselves in any way with that unfortunate and uncivilised people. To this fortuitous impediment were added others which arose out of his nature : a dignified pride that scorned the arts by which men too frequently acquire distinction, and a simplicity of mind which, had he been inclined to use them, would perhaps have disqualified him. He was too modest to blazon his fame with his own hand, and he left no successor to his dignities to cherish and maintain the memory of his worth.

More than one error has occurred regarding his descent. It is stated in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors that he was a younger son ; but he was either born his father's heir, or became so by the death of his only brother in 1580,

when a very young man. The ingenious continuator too of that work has founded a doubt as to the peculiar line of the ancient family from which he sprung, on the credit of a long inscription on the back of a portrait, remaining in that of his lady, which derives him from the Carews of Antony, a branch widely distant from his own. There are perhaps few authorities of less value than such inscriptions, the writers and the dates of which are almost always unknown. The fact is that he was the son and heir of a clergyman, George Carew, a cadet of the elder and baronial branch of that once mighty Devonshire family, who was successively Archdeacon of Totnes, Dean of Bristol, of the King's Chapel, of Christchurch Oxon, of Exeter, and of Windsor, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Harvey. He was born in 1557, and at the age of fifteen was admitted a gentleman commoner of Pembroke College, then called Broadgate Hall, in Oxford, where he was distinguished by the variety, the rapidity, and the success, of his studies, particularly of historical and legal antiquities, his zeal in the discovery and illustration of which increased with his years, and employed all his hours of leisure.

It is singular that a young man thus disposed should have suddenly adopted the military profession, but there can be little doubt that he was induced to that step by his uncle, James Wingfield, who was then in the office of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance in Ireland: certain it is, however, that he quitted the university without taking a degree, and that we find him soon after serving against the insurgents in the province of Munster. Even so early as 1579, as Camden informs us, he was intrusted with the command, jointly with another, of a garrison town, and sustained, with signal perseverance, a siege which the enemy were at length compelled to relinquish. In the beginning of the following year he was appointed, together with his only brother, Peter Carew, who had accompanied him in this expedition, to the government of a fortress which Camden calls "Asketten Castle," and

on the death of Peter, who fell very shortly after in a skirmish not far from Dublin, remained alone in that trust. Such was the commencement of a career of military service, pursued, with few interruptions, for more than twenty years, and distinguished equally by prudence and bravery. He rose, through various promotions, to the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in Ireland, to which he probably succeeded on the death of his uncle, having previously received the honour of knighthood, and was recalled from that country in 1596, to serve in the same capacity in the two excursions against the Spaniards. In the following year he was sent Ambassador to Poland, and in 1599, returned to Ireland, where he was now appointed President of Munster, Treasurer of the Army, and one of the Lords Justices, which latter office was soon after dissolved by the arrival of Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, in the character of Lord Lieutenant. This was the most critical period of the tedious Irish rebellion, the succeeding termination of which may be ascribed almost wholly to his admirable conduct. "Thus far," says Camden, having recited the simultaneous good services of Montjoy, "did the Lord Deputy proceed the very first year, and Sir George Carew made a progress in Munster equally successful, for he was lately made President of that southern province of Ireland, which was desperately harassed by a rebellion which the titular Earl of Desmond had promoted through every part of it; for, in the first place, he so ordered the matter with the commanders of the hired troops from Connaught, that when the rebels had sent for them he got Dermot O'Connor out of the country by a wile, sent away Redmond O'Burgh, by giving him hopes of retrieving his ancient estate; and despatched Tirrell by alarming him with the apprehension of being murdered unawares. He moreover so dexterously fomented a suspicion he had before raised among the rebels by sham and counterfeit letters, that they grew jealous, and ran away from one another. After this, he and the Earl of Thomond, his constant and insepa-

rable friend and assistant, marched against them ; took the titular Earl, who was rescued afterwards by the rebels ; and either seized on, or took by capitulation, the castles of Loughguire, Crome, Glan," &c. &c. After recounting a long series of gallant and successful exploits performed by officers whom Carew had charged with particular duties, Camden concludes—"to be brief, the President, who had found that province so miserably out of order upon his entrance in April, (1600) managed things with that conduct, that by December all things were in a quiet posture, and not one single fort stood out against the Queen."

Satisfied with the measure of glory which he had justly acquired, and conceiving his task of duty now fully accomplished, he languished to return to England, and to pass the remainder of his life in study and retirement. To crown his successes, Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Desmond mentioned in the extract from Camden, who was the most powerful leader in that part of the island, had lately fallen again into his hands, and had been, by his advice, brought to a trial for high treason, in order to the forfeiture of his great estates. This done, and it appears to have been done with all due regard to law and justice, Carew spared his life and sent him prisoner to London, together with Florence Maccarty, another eminent chief. At that precise period, he addressed the following letter to Elizabeth ; curious in many respects, and particularly as a finished specimen of the courtly composition then in vogue. It is printed in his "*Pacata Hibernia*," a work of which more will presently be said.

"Sacred and most dread Sovereign,

"To my unspeakable joy I have received your Majestie's letter, signed with your royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinarie addition to the same, which, although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your Majestie's service, whiche from my cradle, I thanke God for it, was

ingrafted in my heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same ; and wherein my endeavours and poore merites shall appear to bee shorte of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majestie's eternall prosperitie shall never faile to the last day of life. But when I compare the felicities which other men enjoy with my unfortunate destinie, to bee deprived from the sight of your royall person, which my heart with all loyall affection, injurious to none, ever more attends, I live like one lost to himself and wither out my days in torment of minde until it shall please your sacred Majestie to redeem me from this exile, which, unless it be for my sinnes, upon the kness of my heart I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate and to shorten the same as speedily as may be. Since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdome, for better than a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune that deprives mee from beholding your Majestie's person, although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergo, yet, to make it appear that I have not been idle, I thanke God for it, I have now at length, by the meanes of the White Knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of James Fitz Thomas, that archtraytour, and usurping Earle, whom, for a present, with the best conveniencie and safetie which I may find, I will by some trustie gentleman send unto your Majestie, whereby I hope this province is made sure from any present defection. And, now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech that, in your princelie consideration, my exile may ende, protesting the same to be a greater affliction to me then I can well endure ; for, as my faith is undivided, and onely professed, as by divine and humane lawes the same is bound, in vassalage to your Majestie, so doth my heart covet nothing so much as to be evermore in attendance on your sacred person, accounting it a happinesse unto me to dye at your feet ; not doubting but that your Majestie, out of your princelie bountie, will enable me by some meanes or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service, and that

my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not any importunate craver, or yet in not using other arguments to moove your Majestie thereunto then this—‘*Assai demanda qui ben serve e face.*’ So, most humblie beseeching your Majestie’s pardon in troubling you with these lines, unworthie your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadowes of your royall feet.

“From your Majestie’s citie of Corke, this third of June, 1601.”

Impending circumstances however, unknown to himself, were about to claim his strictest personal attention, and to recal him to the most arduous service. In the spring of that year a secret engagement had been made to the Pope by the King of Spain, to send a powerful force to the succour of the Irish in Munster, and, almost immediately after the date of his letter to the Queen, the rebels, encouraged by the expectation of that aid, again appeared in arms in that province. In the middle of September he suddenly received certain intelligence that the Spanish fleet was then under sail. The Lord Deputy was at that time at Kilkenny, with few attendants, and even without his usual military guard, and it was warmly debated in council whether he should wait there for the assembling of the forces, or return to Dublin. “Some,” (to use again the words of Camden, who reports Carew’s judgment on that question with an air of peculiar information and accuracy) “thought it best for him to return ; and that it was not consistent with the grandeur of a Lord Deputy to go forward with so small a train. The President was very positive in the contrary opinion, viz.—‘that he could neither stay there, nor return, without being taxed as timorous and faint-hearted, as well as hazarding the defection of the whole province ; and that niceties and punctilios are to be dispensed with where the safety of a kingdom is at stake. It was requisite therefore that he should advance forward, and use his authority as Lord Deputy against such as were inclinable to revolt, who would not only in all probability remain more

fixed to their duty when overawed by the Lord Deputy's presence, who had been so famous for his happy successes, but would most certainly revolt should he turn back.' The President offering him a guard of two hundred horse, and assuring him that Cork was plentifully furnished with all necessaries, he advanced on with a great deal of cheerfulness."

On the twenty-third of September the Spanish fleet, which had been prevented by the failing of wind from reaching Cork, entered the harbour of Kinsale, and landed their troops, who were received by the people of the town and neighbourhood with open arms. Carew now displayed all the faculties of a great General. With a vigour and coolness by which the warlike operations of that time were little distinguished, he desolated the surrounding country, after having made himself master of all the provisions that it afforded; enlisted and distributed among the most faithful of his bands, those of the better sort of the neighbouring Irish whose attachment he most doubted; and, having seized a castle, garrisoned by the Spaniards, and not less conveniently situated for the defence of the English ships on the coast than for the annoyance of the town, and made the most judicious disposition of his army, commenced the siege of Kinsale with the utmost judgment and resolution. It was obstinately defended till the arrival of Montjoy, with a reinforcement, which, though large, was very inferior to the united army of the Spaniards and Irish, whose main body, however, he attacked with great fury. Carew, who in the beginning of the action had been occupied in preventing with signal dexterity any sally by the garrison, joined the Lord Deputy at the moment when the enemy had fallen into some confusion, and the most complete rout ensued; Kinsale was surrendered under articles of capitulation, by which the whole of the Spanish army, consisting of the remains of six thousand men, also put itself into the hands of the conquerors; and this signal victory may be considered as the death-blow to the Irish rebellion.

The disorders necessarily incident to a country which had

so lately been the seat of war yet required his presence for a time, and it was not till the spring of the succeeding year that he obtained permission to return to England, where he arrived on the twenty-first of March, three days only before the Queen expired. James received him with the grace and gratitude which he had so largely merited ; appointed him Governor of Guernsey ; and, on the fourth of June, 1605, advanced him to a Barony, by the title of Lord Carew, of Clopton, in the County of Warwick. He was in the same year placed in the offices of Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer to the Queen, sworn of the Privy Council, and named Ambassador to Paris, in which station he remained with the greatest credit for four years ; and immediately after his return was appointed Master of the Ordnance for life. After this period he withdrew himself as much as he could from public affairs, and doubtless employed the years which were afterwards spared to him, chiefly in amassing, arranging, and illustrating, that great body of now neglected documents which will presently be briefly mentioned. Charles the First, by whom he was highly esteemed, raised him to the dignity of Earl of Totnes, on the first of February, 1625, O. S. the first year of that Prince's reign. He died at the Savoy, in the Strand, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1629, and is buried, under a superb monument, at Stratford-upon-Avon.

The accounts which have been transmitted to us of the extent of his compositions and collections are nearly incredible. Bishop Nicolson says that he wrote forty-two volumes, relating to the affairs of Ireland, which are preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, and four more of extracts from the Cotton manuscripts. Harris, in his Irish history, tells us that four large volumes, containing "chronologies, letters, muniments, and other materials belonging to Ireland," are in the Bodleian library ; and Dugdale states that several others were sold by his executors to Sir Robert Shirley. His printed works are less numerous. He prepared large materials for a history of the reign of Henry the Fifth, which are

incorporated in Speed's History of Great Britain ; and wrote "A Relation of the State of France, with the characters of Henry the Fourth, and the principal persons of his court," published by Dr. Birch. He also translated from the old French an historical poem, written in the reign of Richard the Second, a specimen of which may be found in Harris's *Hibernica*. But his principal publication is a History of the Wars in Ireland, especially within the province of Munster, from 1599 to 1602, inclusive, better known by the title of "*Pacata Hibernia*," which was printed in 1633, by his natural son, Thomas Stafford. A question has ridiculously arisen, from a single equivocal expression in the preface to that work, whether it was composed by himself, or by another from the materials left by him ! while a passage in the same document, the meaning of which can admit of no doubt, clearly points him out as the author in the fullest sense of the word. Granger truly observes, that "it is written with the unaffected openness and sincerity of a soldier." He might have added, that it is not less distinguished by the pure simplicity of its style, and by the most admirable modesty.

The Earl of Totnes married Anne, daughter and sole heir of William Clopton, of Clopton, in the county of Warwick, by whom he acquired great estates, which, on the death of his only son without issue, he, with a noble generosity, empowered her to return to her family. He had by her that son, Peter Carew, mentioned above ; and one daughter, Anne, married first to a Mr. Wilsford, or Wilford, of Kent, and, secondly, to Sir Allen Apsley.





WILLIAM HERBERT,

EARL OF PEMBROKE

1591-1633

WILLIAM HERBERT,

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

THIS noble person, who has scarcely ever yet been named but to be praised, is generally called, but perhaps with too strict a genealogical nicety, the third of his family who held that title: it might be not only more liberal, but possibly more correct, to style him the fifth. He was the elder of the two sons of Earl Henry, by his third Countess, the celebrated Mary, daughter of Sir Henry, and sister of Sir Philip Sydney; was born at Wilton, on the eighth of February, 1580; and at the age of thirteen went to complete his education at New College, in Oxford, where he remained for about two years. We do not hear that he travelled, and it is probable that he left the university to take up a long residence with his parents, and to submit his ardent spirit to the wholesome strictness of their governance. At a date so late as the nineteenth of April, 1597, Rowland White, the agreeably gossiping correspondent of many of the nobility, but especially of the Sydneys, says, in a letter published in Collins's Collection, to Sir Robert Sydney, "my Lord Harbert hath, with much ado, brought his father to consent that he may live at London, yet not before the next spring." He came accordingly about that time, and we have from the same hand, a chain of small circumstances which sufficiently let us into his history for the two following years, narrated with that delightful freshness of unstudied relation which renders the intelligence of private letters so peculiarly interesting.—He arrives in the summer of 1599, during a sudden levy of troops on the

rumour of a Spanish invasion—intreats his father to lend him armour and a steed—is named to attend the Queen's person, with two hundred horse—lives amidst the musters, and “swaggers it among the men of warre”—becomes a courtier, and is blamed “for his cold and weak manner of pursuing her Majesty's favour”—is accounted a melancholy young man—is at length highly favoured by her, and expected “to prove a great man in court”—prepares for masquing and tilting; “my lord Harbert,” says White, in one of those epistles to Sir Robert, in the autumn of 1600, “resolves this year to show himself a man of arms, and prepares for it; and, because yt is his first tyme of running, yt were good he came in with some excellent devyse;” and, in a following letter, “my Lord Harbert is practising at Greenwich: he leapes; he daunces; he sings; he gives counter-buffes; he makes his horse run with more speede,” &c. We descry in these small notices the dawns of those bright features of character which afterwards distinguished him—an eager and lofty spirit: an indignant disdain of the common arts of a court; a disposition to serious reflection; and a cheerful readiness to cultivate favour which he might honourably acquire. Elizabeth easily discovered the merit which he scorned to force upon her notice, and, had she lived longer, he would, doubtless, have held a prominent station on the page of history.

On the nineteenth of January, 1600-1, he succeeded to his father's dignities, and was among the first Knights of the Garter elected after the accession of James. His qualities, however, were not of that light and pliant order which usually bespoke favour in that Prince's court. He was appointed Governor of Portsmouth in 1609, but had no office worthy of his rank till 1615, when he succeeded Carre, Earl of Somerset, in that of Lord Chamberlain of the Household. He was afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Wood, who is most likely to be right on that head, informs us that he was unanimously chosen in 1626, but several other writers date his election to the Chancellorship

in 1615. About the time that he acquired that dignity, he resigned his appointment of Lord Chamberlain, to enable James to give it to his brother Philip, who afterwards succeeded him in the Earldom, and accepted in lieu of it that of Steward of the Household ; and in 1630 received from Charles the First the offices of Warden and Chief Justice of the forests south of Trent, and Warden of the Stannaries. Of all the great men, however, of his time, Lord Pembroke took the least concern in public affairs, for the qualities of his mind and heart were wholly irreconcilable to the character, always weak, frequently base, and too often wicked, of the reigns in which he flourished. What we know of him, we owe therefore to the reverence and affection in which he was held, not as a statesman or a courtier, but for all those excellences which constitute, in the large and original sense of the phrase, a perfect gentleman. His character, as Lord Orford justly observes, "is not only one of the most amiable in Lord Clarendon's history, but is one of the best drawn ;" nor can the report of the great historian be ascribed to the political partiality with which he has been sometimes charged, Lord Pembroke having died long before the commencement of the rebellion. That beautiful piece has been of late years more than once republished, but these pages must not therefore be deprived of so useful an ornament.

"William, Earl of Pembroke," says Lord Clarendon, "was the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of that age, and having a great office in the court, he made the court itself better esteemed, and more revered in the country ; and as he had a great number of friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself his enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of learning, and a ready wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it ; of a pleasant and facetious humour, and a disposition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was master of a great fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by

his wife, which he enjoyed during his life, she outliving him ; but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly. He lived many years about the court before in it, and never by it, being rather regarded and esteemed by King James than loved and favoured. After the foul fall of the Earl of Somerset, he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's house, more for the court's sake than his own, and the court appeared with the more lustre because he had the government of that province. As he spent and lived upon his own fortune, so he stood upon his own feet, without any other support than of his proper virtue and merit, and lived towards the favourites with that decency as would not suffer them to censure or reproach his master's judgment and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the court, because he never desired to get that for himself which others laboured for, but was still ready to promote the pretences of worthy men ; and he was equally celebrated in the country, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt or sway his affections and judgment ; so that all who were displeased and unsatisfied in the court, or with the court, were always inclined to put themselves under his banner, if he would have admitted them ; and yet he did not so reject them as to make them choose another shelter, but so far suffered them to depend on him, that he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments and murmurs.

“ He was a great lover of his country, and of the religion and justice which he believed could only support it, and his friendships were only with men of those principles ; and as his conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts and understanding, so towards any such who needed support or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was placed in a court that was fitter for that soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that air ; yet his memory

must not be flattered, that his virtues and good inclinations may be believed. He was not without some alloy of vice, and without being clouded with great infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulged to himself the pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delight (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his wife's fortune by taking her person into the bargain), he was immoderately given up: but therein he likewise retained such a power and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that he was not so much transported with beauty and outward allurements, as with those advantages of the mind as manifested an extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed himself, his precious time, and much of his fortune; and some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension that his natural vivacity and vigour of mind began to lessen and decline by those excessive indulgences."

Anthony Wood, by placing him in other points of view, exhibits to us new graces in a character to which Lord Clarendon had already invited so much respect. "He was," says Wood, "the very picture and viva effigies of nobility; a person truly generous: a singular lover of learning, and the professors thereof, and therefore by the academians elected their Chancellor. His person was rather majestic than elegant, and his presence, whether quiet or in motion, was full of stately gravity. His mind was purely heroic: often stout, but never disloyal; and so vehement an opposer of the Spaniard, that when that match fell under consideration in the latter end of the reign of King James the First, he would sometimes rouse, to the trepidation of that King; yet kept in favour still, for his Majesty knew plain dealing, as a jewel in all men, so was in a Privy Counsellor an ornamental duty; and the same true-heartedness commended him to King Charles the First. He was not only a great favourer of learned

and ingenious men, but was himself learned ; and endowed to admiration with a poetical genie, as by those amorous and not inelegant airs and poems of his composition doth evidently appear ; some of which had musical notes set to them by Henry Lawes, and Nicholas Laneare. All that he hath extant were published with this title—‘ Poems, written by William, Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are answered by Sir Benjamin Rudyard ; with other poems written by them, occasionally and apart.’ ”

The little volume here referred to by Wood made its appearance under singular circumstances. Lord Pembroke, in the chivalrous spirit of earlier days, had elected as the goddess of his chaste idolatry Christian, daughter of Lord Bruce, afterwards the celebrated Countess of Devonshire, and addressed to her numerous poetical effusions. These she had carefully preserved, and, when verging on old age, put them into the hands of Dr. Donne, to be prepared by him for the press. Donne dedicated them to herself, and it is difficult at this time to conceive anything more ridiculous than that a widow of sixty should have connived at the publication of so gross an offering to vanity as that with which the dedication concludes—“ The church that covers his sacred ashes must submit to time, and at last lie buried with him ; but this monument that your Ladyship hath erected to his memory will outlast the calculations of all astrologers ; who, though they could foretel the time that he should leave us, could set no date to the fame that he would leave behind him ; which though it hath lain asleep in all this noise of drums and trumpets, when all the muses seemed to be fled, and to have left nothing behind them but a few lame iambics, canting at the corners of our desolate streets, yet they are now contented to be awakened by your Ladyship’s command, and under your patronage to come abroad, and meet and salute that place that gave them their first being ; and to tell the world that whatever was excellently said to any lady in all these poems was meant of you, and, that the poet himself being

inspired by your Ladyship, you only, that are descended from an ancient and royal family, have the right and power to give life and perpetuity to so noble a person." These poems, as might be expected, are, with one or two small exceptions, of the amatory class ; but they exhibit powers of mind, and of expression, which could not have been but successfully applied to higher and graver themes, and are graced by an elegance of language, and a correctness of versification, of which his time affords but few examples. His editor, Donne, must have blushed for the miserable homeliness of his own muse when he copied such lines as these—

" Wrong not, dear Empress of my heart,
The merits of true passion,
With thinking that he feels no smart
Who sues for no compassion ;

Since, if my complaints seem not to prove
The conquest of thy beauty,
It comes not from defect of love,
But from excess of duty.

For, knowing that I sue to serve
A saint of such perfection
As all desire, but none deserve,
A place in her affection,

I rather chuse to want relief
Than venture the revealing ;
Where glory recommends the grief,
Despair destroys the healing.

Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words though ne'er so witty
The beggar that is dumb, you know,
May challenge double pity.

Then wrong not, dear heart of my heart,
My true, though secret passion :
He smarteth most that hides his smart,
And sues for no compassion."

Or the following ; addressed to a lady weeping :—

“ Dry those fair, those crystal eyes,
Which like growing fountains rise,
To drown their banks ; grief’s sullen brooks
Would better flow from furrow’d looks :
Thy lovely face was never meant
To be the seat of discontent.

Then clear those wat’rish stars again,
That else portend a lasting rain,
Lest the clouds that settle there
Prolong my winter all the year
And thy example others make
In love with sorrow for thy sake.”

To these specimens, which have been inserted by Mr. Park, in his late edition of Lord Orford’s *Royal and Noble Authors*, I will venture to add two others, from the original. The first, for the varied ingenuity used in the expression of a very common, however false observation.

“ Disdain me still, that I may ever love,
For who his love enjoys can love no more :
The war once past, with peace men cowards prove,
And ships return’d lie rotting on the shore.
Then, though thou frown, I’ll say thou art most fair ;
And still I’ll love, though still I must despair.
As heat’s to life, so is desire to love ;
For these once quench’d, both life and love are done.
Let not my sighs nor tears thy virtue move ;
Like basest metals do not melt too soon.
Laugh at my woes, although I ever mourn.
Love surfeits with reward : his nurse is scorn.”

The second, on his lady singing, chiefly for the admirable taste and correctness with which it characterises the melodies of certain birds : and to those who may accuse me of attempting to dignify trifles, let me answer that it is, perhaps, in the

treatment of such trifles that we find the surest indications of expanded genius—of quick and comprehensive observation.

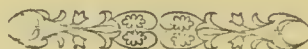
“Shepherd, gentle shepherd, hark,
 As one that canst call rightest
 Birds by their name,
 Both wild and tame,
 And in their notes delightest.
 What voice is this, I prithee mark,
 With so much music in it?
 Too sweet methinks to be a lark,
 Too loud to be a linnet.

Nightingales are more confused,
 And descant more at random;
 Whose warbling throats,
 To hold out notes,
 Their airy tunes abandon.
 Angels stoop not now a'days;
 Such choristers forsake us:
 Though syrens may
 Our loves betray,
 And wretched prisoners make us.

Yet they must use some other way
 Than singing, to deprive us
 Of our poor lives, since such sweet lays
 As these would soon revive us.”

This nobleman married Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury of the Talbots, and had by her two sons; James, born in 1616, and Henry, in 1621, neither of whom survived infancy. He died suddenly, at Baynard Castle, on the tenth of April, 1630, and was buried in the cathedral of Salisbury. The time of his death, which perhaps I should not have mentioned here but that it may serve to explain a passage in the extract given above from Donne's dedication, is said to have been doubly predicted.

“ He died,” says Wood, “ according to the calculation of his nativity, made several years before, by Mr. Thomas Allen, of Gloucester Hall ;” and Lord Clarendon relates, with much exactness of circumstance, that, on the evening of the day of his departure, it was observed in a party of his friends who were supping together at an inn on their way to London, that “ he had now outlived the day which his tutor, Sandford, had prognosticated upon his nativity he would not outlive.” Granger informs us of a lamentable tradition in the family, that when his body was opened, in order to be embalmed, upon the incision being made, he lifted up one of his hands.





Engraving

JOHN DUNSTON, BISHOP OF LINCOLN

DIED 1650

SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

IF superlative public beneficence, and the contrivance and execution of a design worthy of the mind, and requiring nearly the power, of a mighty monarch, may justly claim for a private individual the epithet illustrious, the commemoration of such a person in a work of this nature can need no apology. His history, it is true, is almost wholly confined to that of the stupendous task which he achieved, and indeed in a life devoted to the occupations of a banker in London, and an engineer in the country, we might expect to seek in vain for any of those lively occurrences which animate biography, and excite general interest. The scarcity however of decorative materials could furnish no sufficient excuse for neglecting to raise a monument so justly due, and, though the quarry yield not porphyry or granite, that debt of grateful recollection must be discharged.

Sir Hugh Middleton was the sixth son of Richard Middleton, of the town of Denbigh, by Jane, daughter of Richard Dryhurst, of the same place. His family was of the highest antiquity in Wales, and his father, though a younger brother, seems from some circumstances to have possessed a considerable property, yet, being burthened with a very numerous progeny, nine sons and four daughters, he found it convenient to devote two of the younger, Thomas and Hugh, to commerce, and for that purpose sent them to London, where Hugh became a member of the company of goldsmiths, and exercised that trade. Of his success in it we are not informed, but certain it is that the main source of the great

wealth of which he became possessed was in his own country. As soon as he had acquired sufficient property in his business to enable him to prosecute hopefully such an undertaking, he obtained from the company of the mines royal the lease of a copper mine, for such only had it been esteemed, in the county of Cardigan, at an annual rent of four hundred pounds. With a natural inclination for such pursuits, and the aid of some experience, for he had busied himself much in the earlier part of his life in searching for coal near his native place, he applied himself so successfully to this new work as to discover a vein of silver, which is said to have yielded, we are not told for how many years, a produce from which he gained the enormous sum of two thousand pounds monthly.

Thus suddenly and greatly enriched, he determined to adopt the celebrated scheme for the better supply of water to London, through the means of that artificial stream so well known by the name of the New River. I say adopt, because it had been long before projected. The corporation of London had obtained an act of parliament so early as the tenth year of Elizabeth, and two others, in the third and fourth of James, authorising them to form an aqueduct from any part of Middlesex or Hertfordshire to that city, but no man, or body of men, had hitherto been found hardy enough to undertake a work the difficulty and hazard of which were little less formidable than the expense. Middleton at length stood forward alone, and on the first of April, 1606, the city assigned to him and his heirs all the powers and privileges conferred by those statutes. Nearly two years were passed in surveying the various waters of the two counties, and in necessary experiments and deliberations, when two springs, the one in the parish of Amwell, in Herts; the other, called Chadwell, near the town of Ware, were chosen; and on the first of February, 1608, the great operation was actually commenced.

The New River is so well known that it would be super-

fluous to give here any detailed account of it. Suffice it to say that, having united the two streams as near to their respective sources as the nature of the ground would permit, he led it on its winding course, sometimes in deep channels, cut often with enormous labour through stubborn soils; sometimes raised aloft on arches: building over it (a number since considerably diminished) eight hundred bridges of various dimensions; and seldom employing fewer than six hundred workmen. When it had reached Enfield, his wealth was nearly exhausted. He requested aid from the Lord Mayor and commonalty of the city, and, on being basely refused, besought it of the Crown. James, with more caution however than liberality, assented, and agreed, by an indenture under the Great Seal, dated the second of May, 1612, to pay half the expense of the whole, in consideration of an assignment of a moiety of the profits, which Middleton readily executed. He delivered accordingly into the treasury an account of his disbursements, and received from the King, between the years 1612 and 1615, six thousand three hundred and forty-seven pounds, which seems to have been all that was at any time paid under that agreement; though a pamphlet of the day makes the sum nearly eight thousand. The work was now prosecuted with increased alacrity; and on Michaelmas-day, 1613, this marvellous stream, the sinuous course of which extends thirty-nine miles, fell first into the cistern at Islington, now known by the name of the "New River Head."

We are not informed, and it is most difficult to conceive, what obstacles could have prevented the unbounded success of such an undertaking. The whole of London had till now, derived its supply of water from sixteen public conduits, together with partial aids from the Thames, raised by imperfect and awkward machinery: custom however seems to have reconciled the sluggish citizens to the inconvenience, and strenuous endeavours, the motives to which it is not

easy to guess, are said to have been made to depreciate, as well by ridicule as argument, the advantages promised by the accomplishment of this grand design. It was not till 1619 that the parties chiefly interested in it obtained sufficient encouragement to induce them to apply for a charter of incorporation; but on the twenty-first of June in that year, the King granted letters patent to Hugh Middleton; to his brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, an Alderman of London; Sir Henry Montague, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Ralph, son of Hugh Middleton; and twenty-three others; constituting them a public society, by the style of the "Governors and Company of the New River brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London." On the twenty-second of October, 1622, James testified his peculiar approbation of the work, and of its author, by conferring on him the title of Baronet.

This empty honour was the sole recompense that poor Middleton ever received. He became embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and is said to have been compelled by his necessities to adopt the business of an ordinary surveyor, a report which the terms of his last will seem completely to invalidate. He had divided his moiety of the property into thirty-six shares, of which he retained thirteen for himself, but so unprosperous were the affairs of the company, that no dividend was made till 1633, and then not to the amount of twelve pounds on each share. The second scarcely exceeded a fourth part of that sum; and, instead of a third, it was becoming necessary to make further disbursements, when Charles the First, on the eighteenth of November, 1636, reconveyed, not to Sir Hugh, as we find invariably and most erroneously stated, for he died five years before that date, but probably to his heir, the moiety formerly assigned to the Crown, in consideration of a fee-farm rent of five hundred pounds annually, out of the profits of the company. Such are the variations in the value of property of

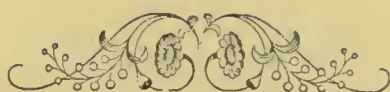
this nature, that a single share has been of late years sold for fifteen thousand pounds.

Sir Hugh Middleton died between the twenty-first of November, 1631, on which day his will is dated, and the twenty-first of the following month when it was proved. He had been twice married: first, to Anne, daughter of a Mr. Collins, of Lichfield, and widow of Richard Edwards, of London, who died childless; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Olmsted, of Ingatestone, in Essex, by whom he had ten sons, and six daughters. The sons were Thomas and Hugh, who died unmarried; William, who inherited his father's title; James, Henry, Robert, Bartholomew, John, Ralph, and Simon. From these, with the exception of the last, all issue is apparently extinct; but Jabez Middleton, a lineal descendant from Simon, remains, and is, or lately was, a petitioner to that wealthy body which now enjoys the fruit of the exertions of his meritorious and enterprising ancestor, for some small pittance to rescue his old age from the necessity of labour. The daughters of Sir Hugh, were Elizabeth, Jane, another Elizabeth, Anne, Esther, and Mary; of whom we have little information but that the first died in childhood, that the second was married to Peter Chamberlain, Doctor of Physic, and the fifth to Richard Price. Some few particulars indeed relative to them occur in his will, of which, as it has not hitherto been published, a short abstract shall close this sketch.

He desires to be buried in the parish church of St. Matthew, in London, of which he was some time an inhabitant; bequeaths to his wife Elizabeth, all the "chains, rings, jewels, pearls, bracelets, and gold buttons, which she hath in her custody, and useth to wear at festivals; and the deep silver basin, spout pot, maudlin cup, and small bowl." To his son William, one hundred pounds, he having already had his full portion. To his daughter Jane, and her husband, Doctor Chamberlain, ten pounds each. His daughter Esther "having

had already one thousand pounds, in part of her portion of nineteen hundred, and the other nine hundred being detained till the articles on the part of the Lady Price are performed which were agreed on in the behalf of her grandson, Richard Price, Esq.," he gives to that Richard, and to the said Esther his wife, ten pounds each, in addition to that nine hundred. To his sons Henry and Simon Middleton four hundred pounds each ; and to each of his daughters, Elizabeth and Anne Middleton, five hundred. To the poor of the parish of Huellan, in which he was born, twenty pounds ; the same sum to the town of Denbigh ; and five pounds to the parish of Amwell in Herts. To his nephew, Captain Roger Middleton, thirty pounds. To Richard Newell, and Howell Jones, thirty pounds each, "to the end that the former may continue his care in the works of the mines royal, and the latter in the waterworks," where they were then respectively employed. Directs that his shares in the mines royal, in the Principality of Wales, shall be sold. Gives to his wife the "profits of the New River," for her life, but directs that if the produce of the sale of his mine shares should be insufficient for the payment of his debts, such of the New River shares as shall make up the deficiency, not however exceeding four, shall be sold for that purpose. Gives, after the death of his wife, to his sons Henry and Simon, and his daughters Elizabeth and Anne, and their heirs respectively, one share each in the New River ; and one share, in trust to ten persons, citizens and goldsmiths, to be divided among the poor of that company, at the rate of twelve pence weekly to each, "especially to such as shall be of his name, kindred, or country." Bequeaths his house at Bush-hills, Edmonton, and the furniture in it, to his wife, for her life, with remainder to his youngest son Simon, and his heirs ; and gives her "the keeping and wearing of the great jewel given to him by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and, after her decease, to such one of his sons as she may think most worthy to wear and enjoy it." To his

brother, Robert Bateman, twenty pounds ; to Peter Hynde and his wife, twenty pounds ; to Mr. William Lewyn, an annuity of twenty pounds ; to his nephews, Sir Thomas Middleton and Timothy Middleton, twenty pounds each : and to each of his men servants five pounds. He constitutes his wife sole executrix, and his brother Sir Thomas Middleton, knight, his brother Bateman, and his nephews Roger and Richard Middleton, overseers.





A. M. 1712

THE NEW YORK

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HENRY PERCY,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

WAS the ninth of his ancient house who held that splendid title. He was the eldest of the eight sons of Henry, the eighth Earl, by Catharine, eldest daughter and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, and was born in 1563. His father had been arrested in 1585, on suspicion, at least, of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots, and committed to the Tower of London, where, on the twenty-first of June in that year, he was found shot through the heart, doubtless by his own hand; and the young Earl, on the eighth of the following December, withdrew himself from the peril of suspicion, and indeed gave an earnest of his loyalty, by embarking with Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to serve as a volunteer in the war then subsisting in the Low Countries. Prompted perhaps by the same policy, as well as by a spirit of gallantry and enterprise which certainly belonged to him, he placed himself among the foremost of the young nobility who distinguished themselves in 1588 by hiring and fitting out ships at their own expense to serve with the royal fleet against the Armada. These tokens of fidelity, together with an apparent, and probably sincere, disposition to avoid any concern in political affairs, and to devote his leisure to study, in which he delighted, seem at length to have gained him no small share of the good opinion of Elizabeth. She gave him the Order of the Garter in 1593, and in 1599 joined him in commission with other eminent persons, to enforce in the province of York the observance of the statutes ordaining the ecclesias-

tical supremacy of the Crown, the uniformity of the common prayer, and of divine service in general, the restraint of Popish recusants, and several other regulations touching the government of the church. It is needless to say that he was a steadfast protestant. He volunteered his sword once more at the celebrated siege of Ostend, in 1601, and had there a private quarrel with the gallant Sir Francis Vere, the angry correspondence subsequently produced by which, interestingly illustrative of the method then used in adjusting what we now call "an affair of honour," is detailed at great length, from an original manuscript, in the supplement, published in 1750, to Collins's Peerage.

Averse as he seems to have been to public business and state intrigue, he had too much ambition to look on in indifference and inactivity while so many of the nobility at the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign were pressing forward to pay their court to her successor. He attached himself with peculiar zeal to the cause of James, to whose favour the sufferings of his family for Mary, particularly of his two immediate predecessors, had given him the strongest claim, and who readily opened a secret negotiation with him on the means of securing the inheritance of the Crown. The agent of their intercourse was the Earl's kinsman, Thomas Percy, through whom Northumberland is said to have supplied the King from time to time with money, and even to have engaged to resist by force of arms any opposition which might be offered to his succession. Percy, too, who was a zealous Romanist, undertook, with the Earl's concurrence, to treat for the leaders of that persuasion with James, who, in his eagerness to gain over so powerful a body to his interest, hesitated not to give the clearest assurances of his future favour to them. He admitted Percy to his most familiar intimacy, and instructed him to commission his brother to cultivate to his utmost the good understanding thus commenced with them, which Northumberland readily undertook. While these matters were in agitation Elizabeth died, and the Privy Council

chose his brother, Sir Charles Percy, to convey the intelligence of that event to James, who in his answer commanded that the Earl should be immediately sworn a member of that body. He met the King on his road to London ; was received by him with marked distinction : and was soon after appointed Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, then esteemed an office of considerable dignity in the royal household.

Hitherto all was well, but a frightful reverse of fortune awaited him. James, on his arrival in England, found the protestants so ready to admit his title and himself that he resolved, with a scandalous facility, not only to break the verbal engagements for indulgence and toleration which he had so lately made to the Papists, but even in a manner to sacrifice them to his new friends, by enforcing the penal statutes against recusants ; and the Earl of Northumberland, little to his credit, condescended to suffer his name to stand in the commission issued to certain Lords of the Council for that purpose. The rage of the disappointed Catholics at this treachery may easily be conceived. Some share of it fell on Northumberland, but its chief object was their chosen and peculiar agent, Thomas Percy, whom they conceived to have deliberately betrayed them from the beginning, and the bitterness of their unremitting reproaches, operating on a temper at once furious and melancholy, is said to have led this unhappy man to join in the contrivance of that stupendously monstrous scheme of revenge, the Gunpowder Treason of 1605.

Percy, as is well known, died fighting against those who were sent to capture him and the other conspirators, and the Earl was immediately commanded to keep his house, and presently after committed to the custody of Archbishop Bancroft, from which, on the twenty-seventh of November, he was removed to the Tower. The annals of tyranny and injustice scarcely furnish a parallel to the iniquitous prosecution, and severe sentence, that followed. Exactly seven months after he was arraigned in the Star-chamber on the

following charges—That he had endeavoured to place himself at the head of the Papists, and to procure them toleration, (which, as we have seen, was not only with James's privity, but at his express request)—that he had admitted Percy into the King's Band of Pensioners without administering to him the oath of supremacy, knowing him to be a recusant—that he had written after the discovery of the plot to his agents in Yorkshire, to prevent Percy, whom he supposed had fled thither, from taking up any of his money, without giving them any order for apprehending the said Percy—that he had presumed to write and send letters, without the permission of the King or Council, during his imprisonment—and that he had given to Percy a watch-word, and intelligence, for his escape. It may be certainly inferred from the tenor of a large collection of subsequent petitions and letters from this unfortunate nobleman to James and his ministers, which are also preserved in Collins's Supplement, not only that of these despicable articles scarcely any were proved, but that he was in fact altogether blameless : yet he was adjudged to be removed from the Privy Council, from his post of Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and from his provincial Lieutenancies ; disabled from holding in future any public office ; fined in the enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds ; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for his life.

There is good reason to suspect that Northumberland owed this horrible sentence to the jealousy and malice of Cecil, operating on the timid temper of the King. In his negotiations with James, before the death of Elizabeth, he not only became necessarily a competitor with that minister, the activity of whose intrigues at that time with the Scottish King is well known, but made Raleigh and Cobham, between whom and Cecil an entire hatred subsisted, his coadjutors. In a curious little volume of "The secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James the Sixth, King of Scotland," published at Edinburgh, about fifty years since, by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord

Hailes, we have abundant proof of the pains taken by Cecil's party to bias that Prince's opinion against these eminent persons, whom Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, Cecil's prime agent to that effect, and writer of most of those letters, denominates in one of them "that diabolical triplicity." James, therefore, in spite of decent appearances, probably ascended the throne with as strong prejudices towards Northumberland as it is well known he entertained against the other two, and through a dexterous use of this disposition, thus artfully infused into the King's mind, Northumberland was now sacrificed to a bare suspicion of some knowledge of the Gunpowder Treason with the same facility as Raleigh and Cobham had been two years before to the mysterious plot in favour of Arabella Stuart. This however is no place for lengthened conjecture, or enlarged disquisition. The Earl was committed accordingly to the Tower, but he contrived to stave off for some years the payment of any part of the fine, when it was at length conceded that it should be abated to twenty thousand pounds, to be paid by three thousand annually. He demurred to this proposal, and in 1611 all his estates were seized in the name of the Crown, and leased out till the rents should produce that sum. He resented this rigorous proceeding by a letter to the Earl of Salisbury so affecting and so high spirited, not to mention the evident allusions with which it commences to that minister's rancour against him, that it necessarily demands a place in this memoir.

" My Lord,

" I understand that his Majesty, by your Lordship's advice, for soe the woords of the leases import, hath granted leases to the receivers of the severall countys, under the Exchequer seal, of all my lands, for the levying of a fine imposed upon me. Your Lordship's sickness hath been a cause of my forbearing to write or sende; for I holde it neither charitable nor honest in one's owne particular to urge a

remorse of conscience whereby the spirit of a dying man may be troubled, but rather to forgive under silence : but since now your Lordship is upon recovery, and that the world confidently affirmeth you are out of danger, and that my business draws to so nigh a pointe of execution, let me put you in mind that this part you had liked to have playd must come again to your acting at one tyme or other, for your foote must in the ende touch the grave ; and I know no man, be he never so free a libertine, but loves to leave a memory of good deeds rather than of badd, yf there weare nothing else to be regarded.

“ The thing itself that is in hande is extraordinary, and not to be paralleld ; for, first, it is the greatest fine that ever was imposed upon subject. Fines upon no man hath been taken near the censures, but first much qualified ; then installed at easie conditions. To be levied in this fashion is not used ; for if lett, yett for the benefitt of the owner, and not to his ruin. By this course is taken I see not but receivers may make what accompts they liste ; pay the King at leisure, yett I not quitted of halfe that is gathered ; my lands spoiled ; my houses ruinated ; my suits in law receive prejudice ; my officers imprisoned that stand bound for me ; my debts unsatisfyed ; relief by borrowing taken away ; my brothers and servants must suffer ; my wife, children, and myself, must starve ; for the receivers are by their leases to accompt but once in the yeare, for which service of gathering they have their reward 2s. in the pound, besides gaine in retayning the money in their handes, and commoditys many ways else. In all this provision for them I find not a thought of one penny either for wife, child, or myself ; so as their wants nothing but strowing the land with salt to make it a pattern of severe punishment ; and whether these things should pearce into the heart of a human man I leave to your Lordship to think of. I lay not downe these miserys, that must fall out of necessity, as amazed, or out of passion, for tyme hath made me very obedient to hard fortunes ; but to

give your Lordship a feeling of my cause, that hath ever seemed to me to be a patriot for the liberty of our country, and of our nobility, wherein we joyed to have you of our society, and not a producer of new precedents that must first or last fall upon you or your's, or on those which you wish well unto, and, generally, on all subjects. The extremity is so unusuall as none hears of it but wonders. For my own part, I hold this principle almost infallible—that where things are acted by wise men contrary to all reason, there may be concluded some misery to be hidden, which appears not, or somewhat desired secretly that will not be asked publickly.

“Perhapps you will say the King commands this to be done. I know the King's commands in these money matters is oft to give, but seldom to take; and all the world knoweth the nobleness of his disposition, if but reason be sounded in his eares; for the nature of censures in the Starr Chamber are ad terrorem, not ad ruinam. Men are put into Kings' hands that they may use mercy, not rigour of sentence: and this hath been your Lordship's owne conceit of that court, as unwilling to be there farther than duty commanded, where nothing was to be pronounced but lashings and slashings finings and imprisonings.

“I write not nowe, neither have done anything heretofore, out of willfullness, but merely out of fear how my acts or words might take interpretation; and whether I had cause or no I leave it to the knowledge of God, and the consciences of men: neither could any durance of my carcase, or discontentment of my mind, have stirred me up to deliver this, though but in private, had I not perceived an eminent approach of starving of a poore company of creatures, that, for anything I knowe, never wished you harme. And so, with my well wishes for your Lordship's strength, I rest your Lordship's poorest allie in England, for the tyme, for I have just nothing, as matters are handled.

“NORTHUMBERLAND.

“*Feb. 2, 1611.*”

He submitted soon after to the payment of the mitigated fine ; the leases were revoked ; and before the end of the year 1614 he had discharged the whole of the twenty thousand pounds ; but he was suffered yet for many years to linger in confinement. An attachment to literature and science, and a fondness for philosophic society, happily beguiled his hard fate of much of its misery, and withdrew him for long intervals from the bitterness of unavailing regret. He was allowed a free intercourse with his illustrious fellow prisoner, the admirable Raleigh, from whom he was seldom separate. He delighted and excelled in the study of mathematics, and contrived, even under this depression, to maintain unimpaired the patronage which in his better days he had extended to several persons eminently skilled in that branch of learning. Nathaniel Torperley, a clergyman, Robert Hughes, Walter Warner, and Nicholas Hill, men of various literature, but all celebrated mathematicians, were regularly pensioned by him ; and to them was added, by Raleigh's recommendation, Thomas Harriot, who had accompanied Sir Walter to Virginia, and made a survey of that colony. "Harriot, Hughes, and Warner," says Anthony Wood, "were his constant companions in the Tower, where they had a table at his charge, and were usually called the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi." "Thomas Allen also," adds Wood, "an eminent antiquary, philosopher, and mathematician, was also courted to live in the family of that most noble and generous Count Henry, Earl of Northumberland, whereupon, spending some time with him, he was infinitely beloved and admired, not only by that Count, but by such artists who then lived with, or often retired to him, as Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torperley, &c. the Atlantes of the mathematic world." His zealous attachment to such studies, and perhaps to others more mystical, procured for him the denomination of "Henry the Wizard."

At length on the eighteenth of July, 1621, he was finally

set at liberty, at the intercession, as it is said, of one of James's minions, Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, who had married a few years before, against her father's consent, the celebrated Lucy Percy, youngest daughter to the Earl, with whom he now opened the way to a reconciliation, by this act of kindness and duty. Northumberland's health had been injured by his tedious confinement, but the high spirit for which he was remarkable was unabated. His physicians advised him to use the waters of Bath, and he travelled thither through London in his coach drawn by eight horses, as a tacit reproof to the favourite Buckingham, who had of late commenced the vanity of using six. The remainder of his life was passed almost entirely in a dignified retirement at his seat of Petworth, in Sussex, where, notwithstanding his heavy loss, and the derangement of his affairs during his long restraint, he lived in great splendour till his death, on the fifth of November, a day already so fatal to him, in the year 1632. He was buried, with his ancestors, at Petworth.

Henry, Earl of Northumberland, married Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his family, who brought him four sons; two Henrys, who died in infancy; Algernon, his successor; and Henry, a nobleman of great merit, who was created by King Charles the First, Baron Percy of Alnwick, and died unmarried. They had also two daughters; Dorothy, wife of Robert, second Earl of Leicester of the Sidneys; and Lucy, whose marriage has been just now mentioned.





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THOMAS BECKET,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

OB. 1170.

GEORGE ABBOT,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE life of this Prelate, of all the eminent persons of his time, presents perhaps the most meagre subject to the biographer. His character was of a negative, not to say neutral, cast. He was neither deficient in piety, morality, talents, or learning, but he exercised them only with a decency so cold and sober that it had an air even of selfishness. He was an example calculated for a village, not for a kingdom. In the spiritual concerns of his great office he was obstinate without zeal, and in the temporal haughty without dignity. His understanding, though strong, was of an order too coarse and mechanical to be applied to the niceties of state affairs, and an ungracious temper, together with a rough unbending honesty, rendered him almost a stranger to the Court. It is natural to ask how such a man could have arisen to the highest station within the reach of a subject?—Simply by good fortune.

He was the fourth of the six sons of Maurice Abbot, a clothworker, of Guildford, in Surrey, by Alice, daughter of . . . March, of the same town, and was born on the twenty-ninth of October, 1562. That lover of prodigies, the fantastical Aubrey, has recorded a ridiculous story of an omen of his future greatness that occurred to his mother during her pregnancy of him, which Aubrey tells us so much attracted the notice of some persons of quality that they voluntarily undertook the office of sponsors at his baptism. Among these it is said, improbably enough, that Thomas Sackville,

Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, was one : certain however it is, that he acquired by some means the patronage of that nobleman at a very early age. His parents, who we are told were zealous protestants, sent him to receive the rudiments of a learned education in the free school of their own town, and he was removed from thence in 1578 to Oxford, and entered a student at Baliol College, where he was admitted a Bachelor of Arts, and, about the year 1583, into holy orders, and soon after gained considerable reputation as a preacher. Having taken his degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, he was chosen in 1597 Master of University College, and seemed to have been destined solely to an academical life, when, at Buckhurst's recommendation, he was in the spring of 1599 appointed Dean of Winchester. He remained however yet some years at Oxford, and was elected to the office of Vice-chancellor in the year 1600, 1603, and 1605.

The period of his residence in the University produced little to distinguish him, except that he had the honour of being included in the number of Oxford divines to whom in 1604 the translation of the New Testament was entrusted. His quarrel with Laud indeed, which was maintained with disgraceful rancour on both sides during the whole of his life, commenced thus early, and he signalised himself to the fanatical citizens of London by an invective against that fine monument of antiquity, the Cross in Cheapside, for the condemnation of which, as a mass of idolatry, they had appealed to the two Universities. He carried that point, in opposition to Bancroft, then Bishop of London, who was little less odious to him than Laud ; and from this active demonstration of the sincerity of that hatred to the Church of Rome which was the constant theme of his public discourses, began to be considered by the Puritans as a champion for the extravagances of their notions of reformation. By the acquisition of this new character, such as it was, and the possession of his deanery, he had probably reached the summit of his

expectations and hopes, for in 1608 he lost his friend, the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of his University, who died suddenly as he sat at the Council table.

To this seeming misfortune he probably owed all his future greatness, since it may be reasonably presumed that while Dorset lived, Abbot would not have abandoned his patronage for that of another. But feeling himself now at large, he readily accepted a proposal made to him by George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, a minister who merited and enjoyed a great share of James's favour, to accompany him in a journey to that country in the same year, 1608. The object of it was to endeavour to reconcile the Scots to an episcopal church, and the moderation, as it was called, of Abbot's conduct in ecclesiastical matters at home, recommended him to the Earl as a hopeful instrument for that purpose. Thus his leaning to puritanism, which might have been fairly expected to impede his promotion, paved the way, as we shall find, to supreme advancement. He condescended to accept the appointment of chaplain to Dunbar; attended him into Scotland; and, by well-timed concessions and persuasions, did much towards procuring that temporary admission of a hierarchy which the Scots at that time rather tolerated than accepted. In addition to this service, he endeavoured while in Scotland to recommend himself to the King's private regard by writing such a treatise on that historical mystery, the Gowry plot, as he conceived would suit the monarch's taste, for which the trial and execution of Sprot, one of the conspirators, which occurred during his stay there, furnished the occasion. He succeeded; and the partiality which the King had already conceived towards him was fixed by Dunbar's report on their return, of the sagacity and indefatigable pains which he had manifested in bringing the affairs of his mission to a fortunate termination.

James received him with the most distinguished approbation, and seemed determined to overwhelm him with favour;

accordingly in April, 1609, he was appointed Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; on the twentieth of the following January, within one month after his consecration, translated to the see of London; and on the ninth of April, 1611, was placed in the throne of Canterbury, vacant by the death of his old antagonist, Bancroft; and all this, says Lord Clarendon, "before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate, of any parish church in England; or Dean (a singular contradiction to an established fact), or Prebendary of any Cathedral Church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true institution of the Church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy, as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward."

Neither the noble author, however, nor any other who has spoken thus disadvantageously of Abbot, have ventured to question his sincerity, or to arraign his motives. His integrity was undoubted, and the praise was at all events due to him of an independent spirit, which, with the common fate of all natural dispositions, shed its influence as well on the errors as on the rectitude of his conduct. When James referred the remarkable question of the divorce of the Countess of Essex to a court of delegates at the head of which the Primate was placed, he gave it his decided negative, in direct opposition to the will of the Monarch, to whom he stated his reasons. James condescended to argue with him in a letter of considerable length, but Abbot remained inflexible. When the King, in 1618, published his declaration called the Book of Sports, permitting certain pastimes on the Sabbath day, and commanded that it should be read in all churches in the realm, Abbot boldly forbade such publication of it in his diocese. James endured these contradictions with a patience honourable at once to the master and the servant. In the mean time it must be confessed that the Archbishop had been engaged in a negotiation signally inconsistent, as well with the character of his nature as with the dignity and gravity of his public station. The King's attachment to

Somerset was in the wane. A party, headed by the Queen, had devised a plan for his ruin ; and a principal feature in it was the introduction of a new candidate for James's favour, possessed of those personal graces to the influence of which he so frequently and unaccountably submitted. Abbot, who had long enjoyed the confidence of Anne, to this end presented to her the youthful George Villiers, whom she, after some consultation and argument with the Archbishop, the heads of which appear in a letter of his preserved by Rushworth, introduced to her husband. Of the particulars of this transaction however we are but indistinctly informed, doubtless because it was in no small degree disgraceful to all the parties concerned in it.

He interfered little, as has been already observed, in the affairs of the state. He took a very active part, it is true, in the long and warm deliberations of the years 1619 and 1620 on the question of the acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia by the Elector Palatine, the King's son-in-law, which he earnestly recommended ; so too he opposed with equal steadiness, at a later date, the Spanish match ; but these deviations into the field of politics arose simply from his hatred to Popery, the interests of which the one was evidently calculated to impair, and the other to advance. Here then he was in the proper exercise of his calling. Amidst these engagements, a singular and unfortunate accident befel him, which embittered considerably the remainder of his days. Being on a visit to the Lord Zouch, at his seat of Bramshill, in Hampshire, and joining what was then called a hunting party, in the park, an arrow which he had aimed at a buck from his cross-bow struck one of the keepers on the arm, and, dividing an artery, the man presently bled to death. However lamentable such a misfortune to any man, particularly to a prelate, Abbot's calamity was aggravated to the last degree by the tedious juridical discussion to which it was thought fit to subject it. To have indicted the Primate of manslaughter in the ordinary way would have

been disgraceful to the Church, nor could James safely venture to provoke a retort from the Papists, who had been so bitterly reproached by the reformers for scandalously shielding their priesthood from deserved punishment, by a summary pardon in virtue of his prerogative. He referred the case therefore to a court of singular construction, erected for the purpose by a special commission, consisting of five Bishops, three Judges of the common, and two of the civil, law. A speedy agreement in such an assembly was hopeless. Five months were passed in cavilling on mere subtilities, and at length the Commissioners, without having arrived at any clear decision on the law of the case, recommended it to the King to grant a special pardon, which passed the Great Seal accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, 1621.

Abbot, who during this inquiry had lived in seclusion in an hospital which he had founded in his native town of Guildford, found it difficult, on returning to the exercise of his functions, to maintain his authority. When the unlucky fact occurred which had occasioned his retirement, it happened, singularly enough, that four divines who had been elected Bishops were not yet consecrated. Laud was one of the number, and, possibly through his persuasion, rather than from the scruples which they professed, they unanimously refused to accept the rite at his hands, alleging that the stain of homicide could not be removed from his spiritual character by the King's pardon. James gave way to their obstinacy, and the new Bishops were consecrated, to the Primate's great mortification, by a congregation of Prelates in the Bishop of London's chapel. The favour and good opinion however of that Prince was never withdrawn from him. Abbot attended his death-bed, and placed the crown on the head of his successor.

Conscious that he had few friends about the person of the young King, to whom he had ever been somewhat distasteful, he now confined his attention and his residence almost entirely

to his diocese, where indeed he was most likely to give offence. His doctrines and discipline, if his ecclesiastical government deserved that name, which James, long accustomed to the slovenliness of the kirk, had borne with patience, were intolerable in the sight of his new master ; the favourite Buckingham, whom, as has been stated, he introduced to the Court, had, for some cause now unknown, become his enemy ; and Laud rose daily in favour and confidence. They determined to wound him in the tenderest point, and an opportunity soon presented itself. Dr. Sibthorpe, a country clergyman, whose name the circumstance has preserved from oblivion, took occasion, in an assize sermon preached by him at Northampton in 1627, to promote and justify a loan demanded by the King. It was ordered (by Charles himself, as we are very improbably told) that the sermon should be printed, but when it was presented to the Archbishop for his license he peremptorily refused it, assigning reasons more offensive than the denial itself. He was immediately directed to retire to one of his houses in the country, and in the autumn of that year the King granted a commission to Laud, and four other Bishops, to exercise the archiepiscopal office, stating mildly enough, that it was issued "because the Archbishop could not at that time in his own person attend those services which were proper for his cognizance and jurisdiction." This suspension was soon removed, for in the following October he attended in Parliament, and paid his respects personally to the King ; but new mortifications were preparing for him. About Christmas, 1629, Laud composed a set of articles, "containing," to use the words of the preamble, "certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several Bishops in his province," which were transmitted to him, under Charles's sign manual ; and in 1630 a further affront was offered by giving to another the honour of baptizing the Prince of Wales, to which in fact he had a legal claim in right of his Primacy. These indignities seem at length to have produced the intended

effect, since for the short remainder of his life we have no further intelligence of him. He died at his palace of Croydon, on the fourth of August, 1633, and was buried, to use the words of his own especial order in his last will, "in the chapel of our Lady, within the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in the town of Guildford," where a magnificent monument remains to his memory.

Lord Clarendon tells us that he was "a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect:" speaks contemptuously of his learning, and passes over the powers of his mind in silence. That wise and virtuous judge of men and manners concludes a comparative view of the characters of this Prelate and his predecessor, Bancroft, of whose method of defence of the established church against sectarian novelties he speaks in the highest terms, with the following passage:—"But Abbot brought none of this antidote with him, and considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care: and, having himself made very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done; but if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and, at least, equally preferred by him: and though many other Bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily broke in, to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the Bishop of London, Dr. Laud, from the time of his authority and credit with the King, had applied all the remedies he could to those

defections ; and from the time of his being Chancellor of Oxford had much discountenanced, and almost suppressed, that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that University, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the Church of England, yet that temper in the Archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a Church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak, and more wilful, churchmen."

Archbishop Abbot wrote, in addition to the small works already mentioned, "An Exposition on the Prophet Jonah," in sermons at St. Mary's Oxford, printed 1600-1613—Dr. Hill's Reasons for upholding Papistry unmasked, Oxon. 1604—a Sermon for the Funeral of Thomas Earl of Dorset, 1608—Some Memorials touching the Nullity between the Earl of Essex and his Lady, with other tracts on the same subject, London, 1619—A Brief Description of the whole World, 1634, and often since reprinted—A short Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the Death of Peter Hawkins—A Treatise of the perpetual Visibility and Succession of the true Church of England, London, 1624—A History of the Massacre in the Valtoline, printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments—his Judgement, of bowing at the name of Jesus, Hamburgh, 1632. We are told too that he left, in manuscript, a Narrative of the true Cause of his Sequestration, and Disgrace at Court, in 1627.





Wandylke sculp.

RICHARD WESTON.

EARL OF PORTLAND.

OB. 1634.

RICHARD WESTON,

FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

THE circumstances of this nobleman's life and character have never yet been collectively presented to our view, nor has the graver, till now, rendered his person familiar to us. He seems to have been one of those who were valued rather for good intentions than for able services, yet he possessed considerable talents, with most of the qualifications of a man of business, and many of a courtier. His faults, which were not abundant, arose from errors of temper, rather than of the head or heart. Distinguished by exemplary fidelity, by a zealous attachment to regal power, and by a sedulous application to the affairs of the State, he filled for some years the highest office in it, without acquiring the public regard and confidence which he appears really to have merited; and died in possession of that great post, little regretted, even by his own dependants, and leaving only a name which history seldom mentions.

His descent, both from father and mother, was from among the most ancient of the English gentry. He was the only child of Sir Jerome Weston, of Skrynes, in the parish of Roxwell, in Essex, Knight, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Cave, of Chicheley, in Bucks, a merchant of London, but of the old house of Cave, of Northamptonshire. He was bred in the Middle Temple to the study of the law, into the practice of which he came with the better grace because his paternal grandfather had risen in it to the station of a Justice of the Common Pleas, and his education, to use the words of

Lord Clarendon, "had been very good, both among books and men." He remained, however, not long in that profession, and probably quitted it on succeeding to the inheritance of his patrimony, when he went abroad, and having for a considerable time applied himself to the observation of the politics and manners of the most eminent Courts in Europe, returned with a determination to seek preferment in the State. "He betook himself," says the same historian, "to the Court, and lived there some years, at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the modesty of the age, when men were seen some time before they were known, and well known before they were preferred, or durst pretend to it." He acquired, however, many friends, but in this tedious attendance, he not only consumed his fortune, which had been considerable, but contracted great debts to many who had pinned their hopes on his prospects, and was on the point of abandoning the Court in despair, when he was sent Ambassador to Prague, jointly with Sir Edward Conway, to endeavour to reconcile the Emperor and the Elector Palatine; and in the following year was entrusted alone to negotiate at Brussels with the Imperial and Spanish Ministers for the restitution of the Palatinate.

He acquitted himself in those missions with a caution and dexterity which procured for him, in addition to the approbation of his own Court, the favourable testimony of the foreign Statesmen with whom he had treated, and his fortune was now fixed. He was soon after his return received into the Privy Council, and appointed Chancellor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and on the twenty-fifth of May, 1624, obtained a commission for the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer, during the King's pleasure. Not yet arrived at the height of his preferment, he was now, however, in the zenith of his favour. The exactness and frugality with which he administered the affairs of the revenue were equally acceptable to the Crown and to the people; but the chief theatre of his services was at that time the House of Com-

mons, in which, not that it was then the peculiar province of the minister holding his office, he had the management of all matters which the King had peculiarly at heart. In this function he carried himself at once with such prudence and courteousness, that while he essentially served James, and afterwards Charles, he gained the good opinion of the house; and had the rare good fortune for a considerable time to enjoy the high esteem at once of the King, the Parliament, and the favourite Buckingham, by whom it was believed that he was first brought into public employment.

His merits and services were nobly rewarded. On the thirteenth of April, 1628, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Weston, of Neyland, in Suffolk; and on the fifteenth of the following July appointed Lord High Treasurer, Ley, Earl of Marlborough, who had filled that post irreproachably for some years, having been purposely removed, under the pretence that his age and infirmities had disqualified him for it. This mighty elevation, which he owed to Buckingham, presently produced a change in his carriage which became evident to all with whom he had any intercourse, and excited the utmost surprise. The complaisance and condescension for which he had been always remarkable, and to which he was much indebted for his good fortune, suddenly forsook him; and, by an unaccountable perverseness, he whose proudest hopes had been at length gratified to the utmost now first manifested an inordinate pride and ambition, of which he had never before been even suspected. One of the first fruits of this strange alteration was a growing discord with Buckingham, whose tragical death is said to have prevented his discharge from the high office to which that nobleman had so lately introduced him. "He did indeed," observes Lord Clarendon, "appear on the sudden wonderfully elated; and so far threw off his old affectation to please some very much, and to displease none, in which art he had excelled, that in few months after the Duke's death he found himself to succeed

him in the public displeasure, and in the malice of his enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at Court, or in the affection of any considerable dependants."

With the King, however, he still enjoyed considerable favour, of which he received the largest proofs. On the ninth of April, 1631, he was elected a Knight of the Garter; in the succeeding winter had a grant of Chute forest in Hampshire, an estate of great value, to which was joined the office of Governor of the Isle of Wight; and on the seventeenth of February, 1633, O. S., was created Earl of Portland; nor could Charles be reasonably blamed for these bounties. It is true, that the most constant feature of Weston's political character was a vehement and sincere attachment to the royal prerogative; that he had very readily fallen in with the project of governing without Parliaments, to which the violence of the times, as well as the King's habitual notions of state policy, had induced that unhappy Prince to resort; and had been the chief adviser of the dissolution of the third which sat in this reign, as Buckingham had been of the two former; but Charles's motives to regard him arose not merely out of selfish prejudices. "Though he was not superior," says Clarendon again, "to all other men in the affection, or rather resignation, of the King, so that he might dispense favours and disfavours according to his own election, he had a full share in his master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise and able servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him, and received no other advice in the large business of his revenue; nor was any man so much his superior as to be able to lessen him in the King's affection by his power: so that he was in a post in which he might have found much ease and delight if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own province, which was large enough, and of such extent that he might at the same time have drawn a great dependance upon him of very considerable men, and have appeared a very useful and profitable minister to the King, whose revenue had been very loosely managed during

the late years, and might have been easily improved ; and no man better understood what method was necessary toward that good husbandry than he."

"I know not," adds Lord Clarendon, for so frequently quoting whom no apology can be necessary, "by what frowardness in his stars he took more pains in examining and inquiring into other men's offices than in the discharge of his own ; and not so much joy in what he had, as trouble and agony for what he had not. The truth is, he had so vehement a desire to be the sole favourite that he had no relish of the power he had ; and in that contention he had many rivals who had credit enough to do him ill offices, though not enough to satisfy their own ambition, the King himself being resolved to hold the reins in his own hands, and to put no further trust in others than was necessary for the capacity they served in ; which resolution in his Majesty was no sooner believed, and the Treasurer's pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his enemies exceedingly increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit of his friendship ; and every day discovered some infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him both to public reproach, and to private animosities ; and even his vices admitted those contradictions in them that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed him to the public jealousy, which is always attended with public reproach, was the concurrent suspicion of his religion. His wife, and all his daughters, were declared of the Roman religion ; and though himself, and his sons, sometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have zeal for it ; and his domestic conversation and dependants, with whom he used entire freedom, were all known Papists, and were believed to be agents for the rest ; and yet, with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had reputation and credit with that party, who were the only people of the kingdom who did not believe him to be of their profession ; for the penal laws, those only excepted which were sanguinary, and even those

sometimes let loose, were never more rigidly executed, nor had the Crown ever so great a revenue from them, as in his time : nor did they ever pay so dear for the favours and indulgences of his office towards them."

These misfortunes, if the consequences of his own errors may properly be so called, produced in him a gradually increasing irritation of temper, which at length wholly disgusted his few remaining friends. He became to the last degree haughty and disobliging ; and such was the unhappy mixture in his nature of rashness and pusillanimity, that every affront or vexation offered by him was instantly followed by an agonizing dread of the resentment of the offended party. Thus his carriage towards the Queen was marked by a constant alternation of petulant insults, and degrading apologies. Having provoked her to anger, his first care, on retiring from her presence, was to discover what she had afterwards said of him in her passion : receiving the news with increased alarm, he appealed sometimes to the King's authority, and sometimes to her compassion ; and, in making his peace, generally betrayed those from whom he had gained the intelligence. These unhappy singularities at length visibly extended their influence to his conduct in the affairs of the State. His services were beheld with contemptuous indifference, not because either his parts or his fidelity were suspected, but because he had provoked in all sorts of people a habit of general dislike. He had none of that magnanimity which finds consolation in the consciousness of upright intentions ; he became careless and negligent, and seems to have been withdrawn from this world just in time to avoid a disgraceful dismissal from office, and perhaps an undeserved impeachment.

He had, however, his eulogists and flatterers. There is in the Cabala one of those complimentary epistles with which it was then usual to treat the great at the commencement of a new year, addressed to him by Sir Henry Wotton ; and exhibiting a picture of his character, in which, however highly coloured, there could not but have been some truth in the representation of every feature. It contains several notices

of him which are nowhere else to be found, and is altogether too curious a piece to allow of abridgment. What must have been the degree of the Treasurer's unpopularity when Wotton could not in decency avoid alluding to it, as he does, towards the conclusion of such an address?

“My most honoured Lord,

“I most humbly present, though by some infirmities a little too late, a straying new year's gift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the choicest materials. In short, it is only an image of yourself, drawn by memory from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship among the most intelligent and unmalignant men, which to portrait before you I thought no servile office, but ingenious and real; and I wish that it could have come at that day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year somewhat like Plato's definition of felicity, with the contemplation of your own idea.

“They say that in your foreign employments under King James your Lordship won the opinion of a very able and searching judgment, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the Palatinate, which were then in brewing, and masqued with much art; and that Sir Edward Conway got the start of you, both in title and employment, because the late Duke of Buckingham wanted then, for his own ends, a military secretary. They say that under our present Sovereign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity, and provident moderation, which attributes I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your actions since—That though great exhaustations cannot be cured without sudden remedies, no more in a kingdom than in a natural body, yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours wherewith at your beginning your house was in a manner daily besieged. They note that there

hath been many changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgement so cultivated and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord Burghley, under Queen Elizabeth, whom they make your parallel in the ornament of knowledge. They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilities rarely sociable. In the character of your aspect, a mixture of authority and modesty : in the faculties of your mind, quick apprehension and solidity together : in the style of your port and train as much dignity, and as great dependency, as was ever in any of your place, and with little noise and outward form : that your table is very abundant, free, and noble, without luxury : that you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greatest power in Court : that you love magnificence and frugality, both together : that you entertain your guests and visitors with noble courtesy, and void of compliment : lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your person and place, and yet an enemy to frothy formalities.

“Now, in the discharge of your function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour, viz., that you had always a special care to the supply of the navy, and likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the King’s only sister, for the continual support from hence, than she hath found before : they observe your greatness as firmly established as ever was any, of the love, and, which is more, in the estimation, of a King, who hath so signalised his constancy ; besides your additions of strength, or at least of lustre, by the noblest alliances of the land. Amongst these notes, it is no wonder if some observe that between a good willingness in your affections to satisfy all, and impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall on your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a rock of diamonds.

“Now, after this short collection touching your most honoured person, I beseech you to give me leave to add likewise a little what men say of the writer. They say I

want not your gracious goodwill towards me, according to the degree of my poor talent and travels, but they say that I am wanting to myself, and, in good faith, my Lord, in saying so they say the truth ; for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own business, and it is now too late to put me in a new furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordship's proper work, and not only your noble but even your charitable goodness that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of the text, 'Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum ;' and so I remain, with an humble and willing heart, at your Lordship's command,

" HENRY WOTTON."

The Earl of Portland died of a gradual decay, the conclusion of which was attended by a complication of the most acute sufferings. Mr. Garrard, the busy and lively intelligencer to Lord Strafford, describes his ailments, in a letter to that nobleman, of the twelfth of March, 1634, with a particularity at once affecting and disgusting. Other circumstances of some interest relative to him are detailed in that letter. The King's regard for him seems to have been undiminished to the last. Charles had given him, says Garrard, twelve thousand pounds since the preceding Christmas ; visited him, when nearly in the last extremity, and remained by his bedside "till his Majesty could no longer endure to hear him breathe with such difficulty and pain, and so loud ;" and commanded the Court to wear mourning for him. The same authority states that his rental was six thousand six hundred pounds, and his debts twenty-five thousand, and that at the time of his decease he was not possessed of one hundred pounds. Lord Clarendon informs us that "all the honours the King conferred on him could not make him think himself great enough, nor could all the King's bounties, nor his own large accessions, raise a fortune to his heir ; but, after six or eight years, spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater ; after vast sums of

money and great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed, without any sense of delight in so great prosperity, but with the agony that it was no greater, he died unlamented by any ; bitterly mentioned by those who never pretended to love him, and severely censured and complained of by those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him ; and left a numerous family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the fortune he had left behind him." He died at Wallingford House, in Westminster, on the thirteenth of March, 1634, O.S., and was buried in the cathedral at Winchester.

This nobleman was twice married ; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of William Pinchion, of Writtle, in Essex ; secondly to Frances, daughter of Nicholas Waldegrave, of Borrley, in the same county. By his first lady he had one son, Richard, who died unmarried, and two daughters ; Elizabeth, married to Sir John Netterville, son and heir to Nicholas, Viscount Netterville, in Ireland ; and Mary, to Walter, Lord Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland : the second brought him three sons, and four daughters ; Jerome, who succeeded to his honours, and whose only son, Charles, the third Earl, fell, fighting bravely, when young and unmarried, in one of the great naval actions with the Dutch, in 1665 ; Thomas, on whom the titles and estates devolved on the death of that young nobleman, and in whom the honours became extinct ; Nicholas and Benjamin, who died without male issue. The daughters by the second marriage were Catherine, wife of Richard White, of Hutton, in Essex ; Frances, of Philip Draycote, of Paynesley, in Staffordshire ; Anne, married to Basil, Lord Fielding, son and heir to William Earl of Denbigh ; and Mary, who died unmarried.

END OF VOL. III.

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